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It Serve Human Needs

Keep Democracy Working By Making

Report of Proceedings

Fourth National Convention

AMERICAN
STUDENT
U N I O N



College of the City of New York
DECEMBER 27 - 30, 1938

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Keep Democracy Working
by
Making It Serve Human Needs

Report of Proceedings

FOURTH NATIONAL CONVENTION
AERICAN STUDENT UNION



College of the City of New York
NEW YORK CITY
DECEMBER 27 - 30, 1938

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GREETINGS *from the* WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Warm Springs, Georgia
December 1, 1938

Dear Mr. Lash:

There are many associations in this country working to improve social conditions. No one of these organizations is working at the problems at a more crucial point than are college student groups. I am pleased, therefore, to send greetings to the fourth annual convention of the American Student Union and to express the hope that much may be accomplished to strengthen the Union in carrying out its purposes as expressed in its letterhead, "The Campus a Fortress of Democracy."

It is fortunate that in increasing numbers American college students are taking seriously their part in strengthening the foundations of our American social structure. Conditions in the world about us leave no room for complacency. The virile strength of an effective democracy will be demonstrated in the United States if the educational forces, particularly those on the college level, will accept the challenge which is thrown out to the world today.

In this campaign to make every educational agency play its full part we must work without ceasing to maintain freedom of speech and freedom of teaching. These are the cornerstones of democracy.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

Mr. Joseph P. Lash,
National Secretary,
American Student Union,
112 East 19th Street,
New York, N. Y.

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Proceedings 4th National Convention American Student Union

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27

9:30 A. M.

Pauline Edwards Theatre

OPENING PLENARY SESSION

ROBERT E. LANE OF HARVARD was elected unanimously as chairman of the opening joint plenary session. He proceeded to read messages of greeting to the Convention.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Faculty of Brooklyn College extends its greetings to the American Student Union on the occasion of its Annual Convention, December 26th to 30th, 1938, at the College of the City of New York.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH BRESSLER
Secretary pro tempore
Brooklyn College Faculty

I want to take this opportunity to extend to the American Student Union the greetings of the Progressive Education Association. Your plan in the conference to strengthen American democracy is attacking one of the fundamental tasks which we all face. We wish you, and the American Student Union, all success.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK L. REDEFER
Executive Secretary
Progressive Education Association

Westchester County Negro Youth Institute 3500 strong extends sincerest hopes that your deliberations prove most valuable. Democracy must become bulwark of education progress. A few state supported universities would guarantee underprivileged Negro and white youth a happier, more optimistic outlook.

FLORENCE ELLIS, *President.*

An Alumnus wishes convention success. Hope you discuss question of refugees but also more important, how to cease creating them. You know the answer, destroy Fascism.

ROBERT G. SPIVACK,
International Student Service.

The American Student Union is to be congratulated upon its conference plans. The issues to be dealt with indicate the American Student Union's awareness of the most crucial current issues and their desire to influence public opinion and government policy effectively.

The National Student Council of the Y. W. C. A. welcomes the cooperation of the American Student Union in the work of the Far Eastern Student Service Fund, especially the able services of one of the American Student Union staff members, Miss Molly Yard.

We extend to the American Student Union every good wish for the conference and for the program for the coming year.

Sincerely yours,

HELEN MORTON, *Executive Secretary*
National Student Council
Young Women's Christian Associations.

Hearty greetings from the American Youth Congress and our very best wishes for the unqualified success of your Convention. We are looking forward eagerly to hearing the results of your meeting, knowing that it will be another step forward in establishing the campus as "a Fortress of Democracy".

World events and the tremendous challenge to democracy presented in our domestic scene prompt us to hope that today, more than ever before, young people will realize the necessity for uniting around a constructive program which advances American democracy. We know that your meeting will be a step in this direction, and that you will consider the basic problems of extending our educational system and devising methods of providing job opportunities.

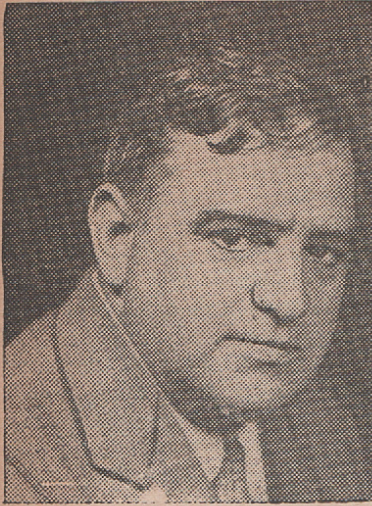
Cordially yours,

JOSEPH CADDEN, *Executive Secretary.*
American Youth Congress

We fully applaud your efforts to make the campus the fortress of democracy and urge you to extend this work to technical schools, generally subsidized by monopolies. Our fullest support in your undertaking and best wishes for your deliberations.

LEWIS ALLAN BERNE, *International President.*
Federation of Architects, Engineers,
Chemists and Technicians

Students of Today in Public Affairs



HON. FIORELLO
H. La GUARDIA,
Mayor of The
City of New York

Mr. Chairman and Students:

It is a pleasure to extend to you the welcome of the city and to wish you every success in your deliberations. I am sure that before your convention is over, you will have solved all the problems that confront this and other countries of the world. Whatever you do, I am sure that your conclusions will be no less uncertain and indefinite than those of men who are in charge of the affairs of the world today.

It is encouraging, as the President stated in his message to you, to find students taking an active interest in public affairs and seeking to get accurate information concerning the problems that affect the country and which naturally will affect every one of you. I'm not very good in giving advice, particularly to young people — judging from actual experience, I am not making a very great success with mine, too.

But there isn't a person in high office today that wouldn't gladly exchange places with any one of you, providing that he could get your youth and take with us our experience. There was a time when it was said that children should be seen and not heard, and that principle went all the way up to college days. I wish more students would take an active interest in public affairs. I don't mean to say that the interpretation by students and their conclusions will be any more accurate than that of older and more experienced people. Now wisdom can be imparted and must be absorbed. Experience cannot be conferred; it must be acquired and very often it is a painful process. Leadership cannot be bestowed; it must be developed, and that is a very patient process. In your approach to problems — and most of our problems in this country now are economic, not political — you will necessarily have to come through this tedious process of acquiring experiences so that you may understand and accurately analyze a given situation.

STUDENTS PARTICIPATE IN POLITICS

The participation of students in politics is not new. It has been the custom in European countries, prior to the war, for student bodies to take a very active part in political affairs. I often wondered and publicly stated, why the students in our country do not take a greater interest. That interest is now showing.

Government is nothing mysterious. It is a human activity with all the weaknesses of human nature, and in dealing with that subject, one deals with human beings. Government cannot be perfect if it wants to be happy. That is why in democracies we make no claim of perfection. We know that in many instances, democracies are wasteful, and at times inefficient, but it is the happiest form of government that has been devised by human beings up to this date.

In dealing with government, particularly in its approach towards democracy, the error is often made that that government can be perfect and supply all of the needs of the moment, forgetting all of the time that the last resort is entirely in the hands of the people themselves, and if one believes in a democracy, you must necessarily have to take the other side and be willing to abide in the decision of the majority. It doesn't mean that the minority is ineffective or has lost its say; but the decision of the majority must be accepted. That decision will often be unsatisfactory and generally is to a minority. But the approach to that is in continuing the education of the majority. The usefulness of a minority is very often lost. Now, when I speak of a minority, I speak of actual experiences, because I spent most of the 35 years of public office as a minority. For fourteen years in Congress, I was in a minority. I think it was always possible — at least I want to believe — that the minority served a very useful purpose during my time in Congress.

PURPOSE AND FUNCTION OF A MINORITY

Now some get the information, and this is very often true in old-line politics, that the purpose and scope and function of a minority is to oppose, to obstruct and to hamper the majority that may be in control. The new school of politics indicates that the purpose of the minority is to set the pace; to offer reform, to offer the methods of correcting existing evils, and when the majority does come forward with a good bill or a new plan and if it is good and acceptable, it should not be opposed just because it comes from the majority.

You find in legislative bodies, particularly in this state, that a minority in the legislature devotes itself mainly to opposition and obstruction. That tactic just fortifies the majority. You take in my own instance, City Hall, where I have the majority of the City Council in opposition. That majority has adopted the old time methods of the minority, because the executive is not in control, of obstructing and opposing rather than setting the pace, thereby losing a splendid opportunity to render a real service to the city, but at the same time, losing great political advantage to themselves and their party by their methods.

The same is true of groups of citizens in a democracy. A mistaken idea has grown up, and I am sure many of you have met with it, that the purpose and usefulness of minority groups lie mostly in demonstrations and direct action. I don't know how that works in other countries. It doesn't register here. I think that the real purpose of group minorities is the same as it would be in a legislative body — that of setting the pace for a necessary reform and the correction of existing evils, and by pressure — intellectual pressure — crystallizing public opinion to see the good that is suggested.

I find very often that a good idea is destroyed at its very birth by reason of the approach to give life to that idea. Some people believe that by making a noise, they demonstrate that they are progressive or liberal. In other words, the choice lies between actual intellectual leadership and ordinary everyday hell-raising. Some people get confused between being liberal or just being ill-mannered. The latter is not difficult at all. I have been guilty of it myself when I was younger. But the results were quite different.

CONCERN WITH WORLD EVENTS JUSTIFIED

You have a great deal more justification in being concerned in what we are doing and what is going to happen in our country and the world than we had when we were students a generation ago. Oh, I sat and listened at commencement exercises and on other occasions to prominent men and women coming before us and telling us; "Go out in the world. This is a land of equal opportunity. Take your diploma and you can make your own way." That is all right if you have some place to go. You are concerned about it. And all thinking people in this country are concerned about it. That is why it is so necessary, to my way of thinking, that students should give a great deal of time and thought to their own future, which means the future of the country, and should adopt the best tactic known to get results.

I am a great believer and I want to see the necessary changes or improvements in our economic system to give youth a chance while it is still young. Under our present system, or the system for the moment, it would seem that the only hope of youth would be to grow old and get an old-age pension, and that, in and of itself, is neither attractive nor desired. Sixty-five years of age seems like a long, long time to you today. It is just tomorrow for me, so I have that security, at least, in youth.

There seems to be a resistance on the part of a great many people to hold their own. For instance, I am confronted with that very situation today in our Department of Education. There, the retirement age is seventy years, and for some reason that I have not been able to understand, the retirement board, which is controlled by representatives from the teacher body, resists all applications for retirement before that age, due to physical disability. I am seeking to reduce the retirement age to sixty-five, which would give us 900 places each year for younger teachers. And yet, I am confronted with a stubborn opposition, and I am quite willing to confess that the teachers in Albany have far more influence than the Mayor of the City of New York. We are going to make that offer to the legislature, and seek amendment to the existing law to reduce the retirement age.

PURPOSE OF OLD AGE PENSION

Now, the purpose of old age pension is to remove from active participation in employment a certain percentage of our people each year to make room, and unless that law is intelligently and scientifically administered, you will find that people able to get an old-age pension will take part-time employment or other work, thereby destroying the very purpose of the provision for old-age pensions. Now let me point out another instance. We have been thinking for a long time to reduce the working day and the working week. We find that the technological displacement of labor by the employment

of machines, production, whether agricultural or industrial, is so great that this time, or the time heretofore employed as normal should and must be reduced. The purpose of a shorter day and a shorter week is to create a greater spread of employment; but we find now also a stubborn resistance as to that, and we find that as agreements are made for shorter days and shorter week, it only leads to overtime for those who have jobs without creating new jobs for those who need them, thereby destroying the very purpose of that system. I had occasion to arbitrate a labor dispute not very long ago, and at that time, I was ably assisted by Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, of the Federal Social Security Board of New York, who now graces your platform, and we were brought right up against this question. A settlement for a forty-hour week could have been obtained for a compact forty-hour week, and under the practices and necessities of the industry, that forty-hour week could have been put in three days, and that week would have ended, thereby giving employment to some 2,500 men who were out of employment and members of the organization. That was resisted by the representatives of the men themselves, with the result that in order to settle the dispute, a compromise was reached for a forty-three hour week which simply runs into overtime and gave employment to hardly any additional men.

APPLICATION OF NEW MEASURES

So don't you see that in seeking a proper system of creating employment in this country, we must take these new measures, and apply them in such a way as to produce results. In speaking to the Farm Bureau Federation of New Orleans just a few days ago, I found there an antagonism on the part of farmers against organized labor, mostly based on misunderstanding, and part of it based on the approach of labor to farm problems. I can think of nothing more disastrous to the welfare of the people of this country than a division between the farmers and labor, because they have so much in common. A situation like that should be corrected, and a better understanding brought about. Again, we come to the third part of the security program, and that is to create more to provide the actual needs of the people of this country. You will hear a great deal in your classes on economics on the old law of supply and demand, and that is used over and over again. Supply and demand, of course, is all right when the supply has to be disposed of at the time and the demand satisfied all the needs of the people at the time. But supply and demand cannot be intelligently or honestly applied whenever any part of the people of a given country is in need of clothes or shelter.

Therefore it becomes necessary to increase the consumers' purchasing power, and that can be brought about only by creating useful and gainful employment for all of the people of the country, and it becomes again essential to have that understanding between labor and farmer, and then the two, to have an understanding and work out the problem with industry. Now, the stating of the needs is not at all difficult. The finding of the solution is not difficult, but making it practical and applying it so that it will produce results is far more difficult.

Now another situation that we have in this country that requires your attention is that instead of having one government, we have forty-eight sovereign states

and a federal government, and until we have uniformity of laws in all of the forty-eight states, affecting the activities which in turn affect the economic situation of the people and of the country, it will be very difficult to solve our problems. You see that in the refusal of some of the states, and I am sorry to say our own state here, New York, to ratify the federal child labor amendment. There you have the other end of the problem. If the superannuated worker is cared for properly, it will remove from the competitive market a group from the upper end. With a proper child labor amendment bringing about uniformity of the application of child labor laws, it will remove another number at the lower end, and you must always bear in mind that every child employed in a mill in one section of the country displaces the head of a family in another section of the country.

So there you have an instance or an example of the necessity of uniformity of laws throughout the United States on all matters affecting the economic welfare which will in turn effect agriculture, labor and industry.

Now, I am not going to bore you any longer. I want to thank you for this opportunity to come down here this morning and extend a welcome to you. I hope that in your deliberations, something will come of this gathering that will be useful to you all and to us.

Now, it won't be long before you will be taking a place in the actual affairs of government, and just let me give you one word of advice on that from actual experience. My method has been most unorthodox according to political standards, which convinces me that I must have been right.

TWO WAYS TO ENTER POLITICS

There are two ways to enter politics. One by serving apprenticeship, ringing bells, collecting votes, and during that period you must never question the platform or the candidates but go along with the party. After serving that apprenticeship, the reward is generally in receiving an appointment and taking a more active part in the affairs of your party. But again, you must never question the platform or the candidates. Later on, it might develop into a candidacy and at that time, you must never question the platform or your own conscience. It might lead into holding high office, and the same rule applies.

The other method is the one that I have followed. It is to go out and grab a nomination wherever you can, and then follow your own judgment and dictates after you get in office. Now don't be too ready with the applause on that point, because this is what I have found, and here, I believe, you can be most helpful—that the faults of old-line parties are most contagious, and I have seen the formation of new parties acquiring these habits in a very short time. It was my hope that new parties would not acquire any of these habits for at least twenty years, but that isn't always true, and it is discouraging to find new parties coming into existence, acquiring, if you please, all the ruthlessness, demands for patronage, seeking of control, shaping of policies, just as if they had been in business for the past thirty years. Now I may be entirely wrong in that—I really don't know. But to me, a political party's purpose is to formulate ideas and policies. There is no great matter of principle involved as to who should be appointed Commissioner of Docks or Commissioner of Street

Cleaning as long as he does his job scientifically, intelligently and honestly. But the shaping of a policy, or determining what a policy should be in a city, state or even federal government—that is the purpose of a political party.

"HORSE TRADING" IN POLITICS

When a party starts to demand patronage and get jobs, don't forget that it is horse-trading—it is swapping jobs for politics, and that should never be done. On that, I think, perhaps, the English system is the best because with a change of government, there are very few changes in the office holders; only the policy-making officials change in England with a change in government. I am bringing that about in New York City by taking the incentive of the political patronage away entirely, and leaving the specialized field of municipal government in the permanent hands of specially trained officials. Now mark you, students, the purpose of a job in government that is dictated carries with it the obligation of that particular office-holder taking orders from the particular boss who put him there, and there you create a system of special privilege. Or if you go on to federal government, whether it is the making of a tariff schedule or a tax rate or in legislation, if the representatives in Congress obtained that nomination by going hand-in-hand with a group of political bosses and getting nominations and continuity in office depending upon their good-will, you will readily see that they will dictate the manner of voting of that representative, and I did not read that in a book. I have lived through that for fourteen years. I have seen my colleagues in the rest rooms and lobbies of the house just worried how they had to vote on important measures. And there is a great deal of intimacy in the lobby, and we talk frankly to each other, and we found very often that a representative wants to vote one way, but is told to vote another way by the bosses at home. We have tried to break that custom, and it is not as rigid and universal today as it was twenty-five years ago in Congress—or even twenty-two years ago, when I went to Congress. We are breaking away from that. That is what I mean when I say that a political party should be interested in shaping policies arrived at after consultation in writing a platform acceptable to the membership of that party, and depending upon its representatives in narrowing out that platform, allowing, of course, sufficient latitude for the practical application of the law in getting actual results.

REFORMATION IN OUR POLITICAL LIFE

It is going to be difficult to bring about such a reformation in our political life, but I do believe we are making some headway. Progress in government is not as rapid and accurate as it is in science. Look at the progress that has been made in medicine, in chemistry, in electricity, in transportation, in mechanics since the time of the adoption of the constitution, and look what little changes have been made in the constitution itself. And there you have an accurate measure of the pace in which government keeps pace with changed conditions. And that is the big problem confronting the country today, and that is the big problem to which the youth of the country should devote a great deal of time and attention. And so again, I wish you the best of success, and to the out of town delegates, I do hope you will enjoy your stay in our town.

After Mayor LaGuardia left, the chairman called on Howard Lee, Southern Field Secretary to give the NEC report.

Howard Lee announced the names of the people who were to be chairmen at the various panels during the Convention.

Mimeographed sheets were distributed, which listed the NEC nominations to the four committees suggested by the NEC; namely, the Presiding Committee, the Constitution Committee, the Credentials Committee, and the Program and Resolutions Committee.

A motion was made from the floor, that the delega-

tion accept the suggestion of the NEC that we have these four committees, and that we accept the proposal on the number of members for each committee. The motion was seconded and passed unanimously.

Jack Cottin of New York University moved that one person accept a nomination to only one committee so that work can be distributed more evenly. If two or more persons from any one chapter are nominated for committees, all but one will be asked to decline. This motion was also passed without discussion.

Nominations were closed. The plenary session was divided to separate high school and college sessions.

FURTHER GREETINGS READ TO THE CONVENTION

The United Student Peace Committee takes this opportunity to send the annual national meeting of the American Student Union greetings, and to wish complete success in the important tasks it has set for itself at this crucial period in history.

The American Student Union has always been one of the builders, and staunchest supporters of the U. S. P. C. It has contributed not only to the Committee's program, but to all of the organizations affiliated. I trust that the American Student Union will continue this splendid support of the U.S.P.C. and renew its affiliations for the forthcoming year.

With best wishes for your convention, and the prospects for student work during the forthcoming year, I am,

FRANCES M. WILLIAMS, *Chairman*
United Student Peace Committee

It is gratifying to note the serious interest which many youth organizations are displaying in attempting to define and solve the ever-pressing problems confronting young people in America and in the world today. Clear vision and the intelligent consideration of the social and economic forces at work, for and against humanity, must be consistently sought for if our living world is to extend its best possibilities to mankind generally. The American Student Union is in a most favorable position to render genuine service to the nation through both this convention and your program for the coming year, by weighing facts, recognizing fundamental problems, and developing plans and procedures for the betterment of students and youth in America.

Please accept my personal best wishes for a highly successful meeting.

Very cordially yours,

HOMER P. RAINEY, *Director*
American Youth Commission of the
American Council on Education

Greetings to the fourth annual convention of American Student Union. We are certain your convention deliberations will make realizable in every way your excellent convention slogan "Make Democracy work by Keeping It Moving Forward."

New York Division American League
For Peace and Democracy

HELEN R. BRYAN, *Executive Secretary*

As members of the American Student Union, you have been alert enough to discover any flaws in the operation of various organizations and agencies on the campus. You have seen at first hand—many of you—how the NYA's Student Aid Program is actually operating and can tell us wherein and why it may have failed to achieve its purpose. I am therefore very much interested that the NYA is to be discussed at both the college and high school commission meetings and I can assure you that any recommendations that you may care to make upon possible improvements of the NYA's program will not only be most welcome but will be given careful consideration.

I wish also to convey to the members of the Fourth Annual Convention of the American Student Union my very best wishes. May your efforts to make the campus a fortress of democracy be rewarded with the outstanding success they deserve.

DAVID R. WILLIAMS,
Acting Deputy Executive Director
National Youth Administration.

We greet the fourth convention of the ASU. We hope that out of your deliberations will come proposals for a more adequate NYA in the schools and a program that will make WPA as a future unnecessary for your graduates. Pending that happy time we trust that you will take a position against the present vicious attacks on that agency and support a deficiency appropriation that will provide for at least the maintenance of the present payroll pending the absorption into private employment of all those who are able and willing to work.

WILLIS MORGAN,
President Workers Alliance of Greater New York.

The students of New College wish to express their sincere thanks for inviting us to participate in the ASU conference and thereby, giving us a very real opportunity to inform others of our problems in this crisis and how we have attempted and are attempting to solve them.

Moreover, we should like to express our appreciation of the interest which you have shown in our school, not simply in extending such an invitation to us, but also in being so familiar with our principles and curriculum as set forth in the catalogue.

We hope that in our work of trying to save New College, we may prove worthy of the interest and the help given us by organizations such as yours.

Yours truly,
CATHERINE ROBERTS,
Secretary Student Council
New College, Columbia University

The University We Want To Study In



"The Student Movement Comes of Age"

Report By JOSEPH P. LASH

National Executive Secretary, American Student Union

OUR 4th ANNUAL Convention of the American Student Union gathers in very troubled times. Events that were forecast in the slogans and literature of the student movement of a decade ago have matured. Wars are raging throughout the world. The area in which free institutions prevail is increasingly circumscribed. Intolerance, irrationality, sadism are in the saddle challenging the values which are exalted by a democratic, humanistic culture, challenging the emergent rights of labor and the common people.

It may be asked then why in such a world does the American Student Union open its convention with a discussion of educational policies. Is the ASU retreating into an ivory tower? Decidedly not! We affirm that the area in which the student can make the greatest contribution toward strengthening a hard-pressed democracy is within the educational system itself.

A student who would serve democracy must help mold his college's administrative structure in the image of democracy.

He must help shape its courses so that they are meaningful in a world in which American democracy must move forward if it is to survive.

He must help it provide leaders for American society gifted with social vision.

Such an effort to root educational policies in the problems and aspirations of the present is no retreat from issues confronting the nation and the world. For these issues and social conflicts have themselves invaded the campus. Not to be able to recognize and correct reactionary assumptions parading through our textbooks, to submit unconcernedly to stultifying classroom procedures is to label our judgments about social organization, foreign policy and political tactics as freshman fustian.

The aims of college education, its content, its methods, its structure, all these point to vexing problems that have long occupied the attention of philosophers, educators and statesmen with a devotion to democracy equal to ours. It would be presumptuous of us to under-

take to formulate definitive answers at the present moment. The significance of our concern with educational policies rests not so much in the opinions that we will express as in the novel fact that *students are concerned with the kind of education they are receiving*, and the college must be a student-centered democracy or it is nothing. It will rest in the movement that we will launch at this convention to awaken the entire student body to a similar preoccupation. Perhaps in the course of this movement, if it results in a genuine expression of representative student opinion, educators will gain new insights and some positive contribution to educational policy may result.

EDUCATION CANNOT REMAIN NEUTRAL

We have expressed our opinion that democracy today is in jeopardy. Education cannot ignore this danger, for the survival of education as we know it is bound up with the fate of democracy. Where government is of, by and for the people, the people must be informed. It is for that reason that the men like Thomas Jefferson were deeply concerned with the system of public education. Only where government is over and against the people, must the people be kept in darkness and education restricted.

That is why fascism has resulted in the debasement of the university. In the struggle between democracy and fascism, education cannot remain neutral. It must take sides and it *can* take sides without falling into narrow partisanship.

For example, democracy is associated in our minds with some time-hallowed principles: government based on the consent of the governed; government of, by and for the people; liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights; equality of opportunity; the method of reason and cooperation; the right of the individual to the pursuit of happiness but in such a way as will serve the promotion of the general welfare.

The time has come for a dramatic restatement of these principles in every educational institution in this country. Would it not be appropriate for every college

to launch a course—let us call it —“A Primer for Democracy” in answer to the “Nazi Primer” which would assess the ideas of racial supremacy, the exaltation of violence, racial truths and thinking with one’s blood, in terms of the principles on which our country has been founded?

The principles of democracy need restatement as well in terms of current social, and economic conditions. And they need to condition both faculty student relationships and curricular content. Fascism gains a hearing as democracy fails to serve human needs. Our ability to provide all the people with adequate food, clothes, housing, medical care, education will be decisive in the fate of our system of government. These problems inhere in the concentration of wealth, the lack of social planning and social control. Political freedom and economic autocracy cannot march hand in hand. Either democracy will gradually prevail in the procedures and awards of economic life or the beneficiaries of the present mode of economic organization will suppress political democracy. This has been the history of fascism. We cannot divorce the actualization of democracy from economic conditions. If our colleges are to make a fighting faith of democracy they cannot ignore the conditions under which democracy can be safeguarded and its premises realized.

Nor is it sufficient to say that education must take into account social changes produced by technological developments. For fascism likewise is a product of technological evolution. We want technology to enable us to fulfill the promise of democracy—the right to the pursuit of happiness for all.

The college that accepts this challenge must seek out instructors such as Jerome Davis, Raymond Walsh and Alan Sweezy. It must encourage faculty and student unionism. It must cherish an educational experiment such as New College which recommends to its students that they participate actively in the social and political movements. It must seek to illuminate the areas of controversy not avoid them. And just as society is trying to satisfy human needs by wider utilization of the instrumentalities of government so must education seek to incorporate a similar insight into a charter of the social sciences.

A DEMOCRATIC CURRICULUM CONTENT

The problem of the organization and content of the curriculum warrants more extended discussion. Today it is frequently true that college students will be informed on the interior decoration of a mummy’s tomb but incapable of decorating their own home; they will be familiar with the texture of the Roman toga but a novice in buying a suit; they will discuss the marriage customs of the Zulu, yet in their ignorance make a mess of their own personal relations. This is not a plea for abandoning the studies of archaeology, Roman history and anthropology nor for the subordination of the general to the particular. The college must consider, however, whether its courses shall be pointed to the few students who may become scholars in subjects, or to the generality of students who unless subject matter is presented to them in terms of their own problems of living, will not assimilate that subject matter.

Remembrance of courses passed and their subject matter is for most of us no more distinct than remembrance of dreams and the phantoms that peopled these dreams. It was reported recently that the University

of Colorado was going to place an extra charge for flunking. This of course is one approach to the failure of students to assimilate subject matter. In China they have the custom of paying their doctors only when they are well and halting payments when they fall ill and need medical attention. The Colorado students might argue similarly that the university should be fined when it fails to interest the student sufficiently in his courses so that he wants to pass.

A recent report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching is illuminating on this and related problems. This report, “The Student and His Knowledge”, represents a ten-year study of the education of 45,000 students in Pennsylvania schools and colleges based on twelve-hour examinations of a student’s knowledge. The report has been summarized in a pamphlet prepared by Goodwin Watson called “How Good are Our Colleges?” which you can obtain from the Public Affairs Committee at 8 West 40th Street.

The tests when given to high school seniors showed a vast range of differences among them. The report then inquires whether any one pattern of required subjects would serve all those who went to college in light of these varying scores? In the opinion of the Carnegie investigators the college cannot impose its attitudes, traditions, techniques and syllabi on the student mind without first examining exhaustively what can inspire that mind and give it direction. Yet few colleges have undertaken such individual treatment of students.

The tests revealed large differences as among colleges. In one college the average sophomore made a higher score than three-quarters of the college seniors in the rest of the state. In another college the sophomores are only a trifle above the high school average. That it is not the student who is necessarily to blame, as the Colorado fines would have it, but the college, is demonstrated by another table. One hundred and six students who made the identical score on their high school test went to different Pennsylvania colleges. When they were tested in college, the 34 students who went to the high-scoring colleges averaged 617, while their colleagues in the less stimulating institutions averaged only 515. The difference, 102 points, is about the average gain from sophomore to senior year in the better colleges.

These same tests showed that school status as defined by time spent and courses passed had little relation to a definite body of ideas, understood and available, as a result of education. The report demonstrates that if graduation were based on tested achievement instead of time spent, those eligible would have been largely different from those who did graduate. The reporters comment acidly:

“We have the spectacle of about one-fourth of our college seniors, unable, after spending four years in college, to command the general fields of knowledge which they have actually traversed, as well as these fields are understood by at least one-third of the seniors in the high school, an institution four years below them. In lieu of a progressive mastery of ideas, the college demands of the student merely his semester course-credits, reckoned solely on what he pours in at one end of his mind while his earlier injections unobtrusively disappear at the other — a

singular testimonial to what has been termed the 'open-mindedness' of American education."

The conclusions arrived at by the Carnegie Report support the experiments going on at such institutions as Sarah Lawrence, Bennington, New College, Antioch and others. Summarized briefly, the ideas underlying these experiments are:

1. Each student differs from the next in level of understanding and type of interest. For learning to stick it must be at a level related to the individual and in terms of problems meaningful to that individual.

2. Education ultimately is a voluntary process. "Whatever a man learns he must learn for himself" declares the Carnegie Report. This again dictates individualization of treatment.

3. Self-education requires a purpose or goal, an end toward which one is working. College must help the student find this purpose but it must be his own.

4. Extrinsic coercions such as compulsory class attendance, periodic exams, generalized grades "interfere seriously with real incentives and internal disciplines related to the student's own developing purposes and interests" (Bennington).

5. Avoidance of an attitude of aloofness from contemporary problems. This is formulated most sharply in the bulletin of New College.

"Education itself is meaningful only in relation to the economic and social conditions of its times. It is all too easy to acquire a sideline attitude toward crucial issues, to become satisfied with intellectual speculation, and to hold one's self aloof from the realities of social and political activity. Social problems take on a new meaning in practical application. To substitute vigorous activity in place of academic neutrality in public affairs the New College students are urged to go beyond academic discussion to participation in social and political movements each in accordance with his own convictions."

One's social responsibility, declares the bulletin, requires that one be able to define the issues, collect and organize the evidence, evaluate the evidence, draw conclusions and finally to act upon those conclusions. The typical academic attitude is to ignore the final point of action. It is this clarion injunction to action that perhaps accounts for the abrupt termination of New College on the widely-questioned ground of deficit.

New College represents an experiment which the educational community must cherish in view of the confusion in aims and methods that reigns today in higher education. The closing of New College cannot be viewed as other than as a disaster to the progress of higher education. The American Student Union must, as part of its concern for educational policies, consider methods of aiding in the campaign to continue New College.

THE PROBLEMS STUDENTS FACE

Ideas, experiences, problems, interests meaningful to the individual student alone will stick with him. What are the meaningful problems confronting our student generation? Certainly a curriculum which shirks such problems as the role of labor, peace, sex—will, to that degree, lose significance. Meaningful policies are sketched for high school students in the recent report "Education for American Life" made to the New York Board of Regents. This summary, can, with some mod-

ification serve for college students. Education for life, declares the Report, must follow life itself. Life confronts the college student with the need:

to select a vocation or profession in a society beset by unemployment and insecurity;

to utilize leisure creatively and lead some sort of inner life;

to obtain a broad, meaningful picture of the modern world as it has been transformed by scientific discovery and social change;

to formulate a code of moral values in the absence of family and religious guidance;

to be economically and politically literate and active on the great issues confronting our society.

If higher education would undertake to help students meet these needs, it must inevitably help solve them for society as a whole. An instructor who concerns himself in the classroom with such problems as the concentration of wealth, the role of labor, social security, will also direct his studies and researches to such problems. We would not have the situation cited by the committee of nine eminent Harvard professors who investigated the Walsh-Sweezy case:

"In contradistinction to the elaborate provision for instruction and research in business administration, the University has made very limited provision for giving students an understanding of the growingly complex problems of labor, or for training teachers, labor executives or government experts in this field. Yet for an institution of higher learning in a democratic society the one function would today seem as appropriate and important as the other."

And it is an interesting fact that if one examines the rosters of the experimental colleges one will find a high ratio of men and women who are making genuine contributions toward advancing our social frontiers. Would it not be a service to democracy if our colleges and universities as official college research projects were producing reports such as the report on conditions in the south of the President's committee, the report on consumer's income, etc.

DEMOCRATIC COLLEGE ADMINISTRATION

Close in importance to the question of what to teach are equally troublesome issues of how to teach and administrative practices. The teacher who coasts along on traditional methods of delivering soapbox orations to his class, making daily assignments of chunks of material to be memorized, and checking up on those assignments like a policeman, is not practicing the methods of democracy even if he is a member of the teachers union. It is a great satisfaction, however, to point out that the teachers unions are concerned with this problem: witness the recent conference of the College Teachers Union on "Society and Higher Education." We believe it a particular responsibility of teachers' organizations that are fighting for rights of tenure and security to encourage a ceaseless exploration of educational aims that will advance the democratic idea in education.

If the relation of teacher and student should be a co-operative one, certainly we must say the same of the relation of administration to faculty. A cooperative spirit is the product of cooperative procedures. The

new plan that has been instituted in the colleges of New York City by the Board of Higher Education is the most interesting experiment in this direction. You will hear much of this from others who are more competent to deal with it than myself.

The new by-laws in the city colleges grant tenure to college teachers after three years of teaching, establish a machinery for hearing charges, and provide for the election of department heads every three years by the permanent members of each department.

These innovations have changed the relationship of administration to faculty from that of a glorified "manager-hired help" relation to one of cooperation of equals. It will be interesting to hear from the students at City College, Hunter, Brooklyn, and Queens, whether this change has been reflected in an improvement in the quality of education they are receiving.

The problem of education for democracy cannot be separated from the problem of guaranteeing freedom to the members of the faculty—freedom in the exposition of their subjects, in the choice of research subjects, and in the exercise of their rights as citizens outside of the classroom. It is for that reason that students must aid the American Federation of Teachers, the American Association of University Professors and other faculty associations whose organizations are themselves guarantors of academic freedom to the extent of their strength. Without such freedom there can be no progress in the educational community.

It is our job to win from the university recognition that students have a right to be heard on their own education. In essence this means student self-government—the right of students to govern their own activities, to be heard on matters of curriculum and administrative policy. Many college presidents look upon student government as something to be tolerated rather than something to be encouraged in the interests of training students in the procedures of democracy. Other college presidents have been fed up with the spectacle of student governments that were completely unconcerned with serious matters of educational policy and welfare and were the splitting image of the grafting and corruption that characterizes much of traditional political life. It must be our concern to obtain the right of student councils to speak for the student body on all matters of educational policy and also to develop in the student councils themselves a sense of responsibility for the welfare and progress of the educational community.

An independent and forthright college press can be helpful in enlisting genuine student cooperation in the aims of the educational community. But the undergraduate press must have the same freedom, and we hasten to add, responsibilities, as is guaranteed to the press at large. It must deal with the significant problems of living that confront the student not the trivia of dormitory gossip.

COLLEGES AND THE A. S. U.

And finally we believe that an educational system that recognizes that it is now in a fight for its life will encourage the American Student Union. Should not college educators be thankful that there is a student organization that nails to its masthead the slogan: "Think as men of action; act as men of thought", a student organization that instead of running away from ideas and the serious concerns of mankind is passionate-

ly interested in them? We acknowledge freely that in the past, we too have been guilty of serious blunders in our attitude toward college administrations. Sometimes we have almost displayed what one college president has called "a student class-conscious attitude of objection to faculties and administrators". I believe we must overcome a sanctimonious attitude that some of us display as if we alone were devoted to democracy; that we alone have the right answers; that we alone can speak for the student body. I believe that we can do this without abandoning precious convictions. What we must recognize is that the educational community as a whole faces the challenge that democracy faces. We must seek constantly the cooperation of the entire educational community in the solution of the problems that all men of good will are concerned with at the present moment.

There can, of course, be no final consideration of the problem of democratic procedures in the college without considering the role of trustees. It would seem to us inevitable that trustee rosters that are largely drawn from the world of business and finance will reflect the interests and values of that world. If education is to be for American democracy then college government must be in the image of democracy. It must reflect and incorporate groups such as labor and farmer. It must seek after individuals renowned, not for amassing wealth, but for disinterested public service. When we note how the transformation effected in the Board of Higher Education in New York City by the LaGuardia administration has completely altered the spirit and methods of higher education in New York City, we must be sensitive to the relationship of trustees to our central problem: rendering our colleges more sensitive instruments in the service of American democracy and human needs.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

What to teach, how to teach and finally whom to teach are among the chief problems that must concern us in a discussion of college education for democracy. One of the most serious shortcomings of higher education today is its unavailability to many high school graduates because of lack of financial means. It is simply not true that those fit for college education obtain it. It would be equally true to assert that by present standards just as many who are unfit for college go there. In the Carnegie Report is ample evidence for this assertion: 18,000 high school seniors were tested. 6,000 of them went on to college; 12,000 went to find work. In tested ability, however, 3,000 of those who went to work made higher scores than half of those who went on to college. These people stopped their schooling for financial reasons.

Dr. Conant of Harvard has declared that "taking half the present students out of our universities and replacing them with young persons of more talent and less means would benefit this country." He suggested the Harvard "sliding scale" principle used in awarding national scholarships, namely, making the amount contingent on the family income of the applicant. This remedy will not be effective by itself, nor do I believe that Dr. Conant suggested it as such. The New York State Regents Report to which I have already referred recommends that the state double the number of com-

petitive state scholarships to 6,000 and raise the annual stipend from \$100 to \$300.

The student-aid program of the National Youth Administration has been of great help in enabling capable students to remain in college despite financial handicaps. The number of worthy applicants that many colleges have been compelled to turn away indicates that a larger appropriation of funds is necessary. We believe that consideration should be given to converting NYA student aid into a system of federal scholarships divested of its emergency character and recognized as an extension of the system of public education. A recommendation to place student aid on a permanent basis under a National Youth Service Administration was contained in a report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education. Legislation to implement that report as well as methods of winning student support for it will be considered tomorrow.

EQUALITY FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

Negro young people particularly suffer from a lack of equality of educational opportunity. Not only do they suffer from severer financial disabilities than their white fellows, but they are excluded because of discriminatory practices in many colleges, and the number of Negro colleges not only are inadequate but are frequently understaffed and badly equipped.

The American Student Union welcomes the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Gaines case, ruling that equal educational facilities must be provided for the Negro student within the state. This ruling may anticipate another by the Supreme Court compelling states to end discrimination in state appropriations to Negro schools since this likewise results in preventing the Negro student from obtaining equal educational opportunities, sheerly on the ground of race. The ruling of the Supreme Court in the Gaines case may pave the way for admission of Negro students to graduate and professional schools heretofore attended exclusively by whites. Dr. Reynolds, president of Hendrix College in Arkansas has urged such a practice.

It is difficult to see, however, how the Negro college can solve its problem without the passage of federal legislation providing federal aid to education. This must be a major concern of those who are interested in the equality of educational opportunity.

Every measure which tends to lower the cost of going to college thereby increases the availability of college. It is for that reason that the ASU must be concerned with the active development of student cooperatives. Living co-ops particularly have been widely established to reduce student living expenses. Eating co-ops and book exchanges are experiencing a widespread boom. An educational program which takes the needs of democracy as its inspiration will of course find other values in cooperatives.

We believe that in many cases a campus slum clearance program would be in order. What is necessary here is the formulation of a simple code of what constitutes adequate student living quarters. Student health should be and is the concern of the college. Frequently however, health fees are exorbitant, nor do many colleges interest themselves in a program of health correction so that students will emerge from college sound in body as well as in mind. We should undertake a survey of college health programs with a view to formulating a desirable program.

The condition of student workers has been one of the major concerns of the American Student Union. The winning of better conditions of employment both in wages and hours will facilitate college attendance for some. Here again the student body will, in the process of helping student workers, obtain a laboratory lesson in many of the problems that beset our democracy—collective bargaining, fair labor standards, unions as instruments of economic democracy. Equality of educational opportunity must be a major concern of ours for it is an essential guarantee of democracy. If wealth is to be a necessary and sometimes sufficient criterion of college entrance, we will be introducing practices more appropriate to an educational system serving a monarchy or some form of oligarchical rule. This is universally recognized. The President's Advisory Committee has stated:

"Education can be made a force to equalize the condition of men. It is no less true that it may be a force to create class, race, and sectional distinctions. The evidence indicates clearly that the schools of the United States, which have hitherto been regarded as the bulwark of democracy, may in fact become an instrument for creating those very inequalities they were designed to prevent. If, for a long period of years, each succeeding generation is drawn in disproportionately large numbers from those areas in which economic conditions are poorest, if the population reserves of the Nation continue to be recruited from economically underprivileged groups, and if the inability of the depressed economic areas and groups to provide proper education for their children is not corrected by aid from areas and groups more prosperous, the effect on American civilization and on representative political institutions may be disastrous."

THE ACADEMIC STANDING OF ASUers

Before I summarize I would like to deal with our own education. I mentioned the phrase before "Think as men of action; act as men of thought." That phrase was bequeathed to us by Max Lerner last summer at the opening session of our summer school. We had another phrase "seeing first things first".

To do so requires understanding, the capacity for analysis, breadth of knowledge. We are very much concerned that the American Student Union contain within itself the most capable students on the campus, those who are outstanding in scholastic achievement. We believe that the ASU, because it constantly calls for the integration of thought with action facilitates scholarship achievement. At Swarthmore the new Phi Betes contained a very large percentage of ASUers. The Vassar graduate fellowships last June were awarded to eight ASUers.

We must recognize, however, that there is a problem. Many of our most capable ASUers, those whose burning sense of social justice, whose clear insight into history makes them accept responsibility upon responsibility, find that their studies suffer. We cannot permit this and there must be no misunderstanding of our attitude here. The job of the ASUer is to integrate thought with action. Both elements are necessary. The classroom, the library, the faculty member is a treasure house for the mind whose inquiries are directed by a social purpose. Chapters must undertake to divide and share responsi-

bility among many. Chapters that are characterized by leadership restricted to a few are harming their most able members. The world does not need the bookworm's mechanically devouring of the printed page, nor does it want overwrought agitators too busy to learn and too emotional to think for themselves. Action that is not informed by theory collapses as soon as it meets up with real obstacles; it is temperamental, suffering great depressions because of setbacks and great jubilation because of superficial gains. Such people are not the social pioneers that American democracy must have. Every section of the ASU must take this problem into account and chapters should be held responsible if our people fall behind in their studies.

It is high time that I concluded and opened the discussion to the representatives from the colleges.

The University we want to study in will not be neutral or abstracted from the struggle which democracy now confronts, but will rally courageously to its defense.

The University we want to study in will not neglect such subjects as peace, labor, sex, nor any meaningful problem which confronts youth today.

The University we want to study in will seek for greater individualization in its treatment of students.

The University we want to study in will incorporate the democratic idea in its administrative procedures and practices. It will guarantee academic freedom.

The University we want to study in will be a "student-centered democracy of scholars" in which the students participate actively.

The University we want to study in will be open and available to all young men and women of talent regardless of race, creed, color, or financial standing.

To attain these ends, it shall be the function of the American Student Union to inaugurate local considerations of these problems in a series of "Education for Democracy" convocations. It shall be the function of the ASU to bring the curriculum closer to the problems of American life as experienced by a student in the act of being a vigorous member of the ASU. It shall be the function of the ASU to seek out the cooperation of the Teachers' Union and the American Association of University Professors who are likewise confronted with the problems of "Education for democracy, democracy in education". It shall be the function of the ASU to bring the world into the campus, and the campus into the world.

By doing these things, we will heighten the status of the students and give mature dignity to the student movement.

DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT OF JOSEPH LASH

SWARTHMORE

By John Kaufman

JOE LASH has just told us of what we, as students ought to expect from the universities where we study. In my report, I shall explain the particular type of education offered at Swarthmore college and discuss to what extent Swarthmore lives up to what Lash has told us what we might expect.

At Swarthmore besides the rather staid and usual method of lecture and quiz education that you find at most universities, we have what is called the honors system. In 1921 when the system was instigated, President Aydelotte said, "Perhaps the most fundamentally wasteful feature of our educational institutions is the lack of higher standard of intellectual attainment. We are educating more students up to a fair average than any country in the world, but we are wastefully allowing the capacity of the average to prevent us from bringing the best up to the standards they should reach. Our most important task at present is to check this waste". With this purpose President Aydelotte instituted a system of honors work which differs from most college methods bearing the same name. In brief, it is a method of study which is offered to the more gifted student. That method consists of independent study through seminars instead of in the regular class room. On applying, the better than average student is admitted to honors work for his junior and senior years, taking two seminars a semester, eight over the two year span and meeting twice a week for seminars which last from 3 to 4 hours each.

Because the honors student is expected to specialize in the subject which interests him, he is supposed to

choose seminar topics which will correlate and complement each other. Thus he takes no examinations until the end of his senior year. He is then examined by an outside professor with a three hour written and at twenty minute oral in each of his eight seminars.

The work for the individual seminars consist mainly of general reading and in writing papers on the students' individual interests. The seminars vary in size from two, the professor and the student, to the largest of seven. Their smallness, therefore, allows the greatest possibilities of good discussion. In brief this is the Honors system at Swarthmore.

Now let us see how this system makes for a democratic system of education, that is a system which trains and develops the student so that on graduation he is able to analyze and help solve the problems confronting himself and the world.

At the start it must be admitted that Swarthmore's honors system does nothing in itself which affords educational opportunities to a greater number of students, but rather it develops those fortunate students to the extremities of their abilities.

From the highly specialized type of education which the honors system offers, we find Swarthmore turning out a number of intellectually learned specialists. This specialization would not make for a more democratic means of education if these pseudospecialists were not educated from a thoroughly liberal point of view. Since the seminars are small, the student is able to bring up and discuss any phase of any related problem which interests him. Through this give and take of professor and student a greater insight into the particular problem is attained. The liberal approach can also be seen in the type of books which are recommended and placed

on reserve, books of all points of view, books frequently differing from the beliefs of the professors as well as from those of the students.

Another highly significant and different approach is in the type of papers which are written for seminars. The seminar reading treats the particular problem under consideration as a whole, while the individual student contributes to the seminar in that he treats the phase of the problem in which he is most interested.

From what I have said so far it might be assumed that, considering the size of the seminars, the type and extent of discussion, the type of papers and the method of examination the honors system is a definite force for democracy in education. That this assumption is not entirely true, that there is a serious limitation to the Honors system in so far as "making the campus a fortress of democracy" is concerned, is obvious when one considers the extent of specialization inherent in the system. For example a student not majoring in the social sciences, a student interested in literature, the fine arts, the natural sciences, or engineering, there is no way in which he can study in his academic course the problems of the world which he will face when he is graduated from college.

It is not only interesting but also significant to notice the high degree of correlation between the members of the A.S.U. and those in honors. Last year all of the honors students who attained the highest honors given were members of the A.S.U., as were over half of the students who graduated in honors.

Before closing I believe that it is important to mention that not all the credit should be given to the system of honors alone, but that a great deal of credit should go to the administration which in this case realizes the true benefits of honors and work in such a way as to make the benefits lasting. This administration attitude appears in the regular course work making for a more democratic means of education there as well.

With all of these points considered I believe one can say that Swarthmore's system of honors really does make for a more democratic system of education and in turn makes the university a more real force for democracy.

BENNINGTON COLLEGE

By Elaine Pear

Bennington College was an outgrowth of the scientific progressive movement in education. This movement has been attempting, by means of changes in the content and methods of education, to transform it from a confused smattering of knowledge to an integrated means of constant growth with the continual application of scientific concepts. Bennington College is merely one phase of this whole larger movement. The main differences in the system can be examined under the categories of content, method, and social philosophy.

The college years are divided into two sections, the first two being called the junior division and the last two the senior division. The junior division period is supposed to be an investigating period, during which the student explores various fields and finds out which she wishes to major in. At the end of the second year she applies for senior division by presenting a plan of work consisting of some sort of project which she intends to work on during her last two years. If a student is not

considered sufficiently developed to go on, she is refused entrance to senior division and either tries again or is advised about going to another college.

There are no required courses at any time since the theory is that we won't really learn anything from a course which is not significant to us. We are started from our immediate interests and, by seeing the relationship between them and broader things, we take subjects which we might have missed. For example, if a girl is interested in painting and is studying the Italian Renaissance, she is shown that the only way in which one can get a really complete idea of Renaissance painting is to study the time as well. This carries her into the fields of history, economics, and literature. Thus she studies these subjects not because they're required but because they are meaningful to her.

The arts are considered to be important fields for the broadening of human experiences, and being recognized as such, painting, sculpture, literature, and the dance are all made available.

Every attempt is made to teach students by means of doing as well as studying about things. The winter field period is a device used to bring to the student a practical view of her major field. For a period of seven weeks we leave college and work in some field related to our major interest. Girls work on newspapers, magazines, teaching, doing special research work, or working in labor unions, anything to broaden their experience in their field.

In method, the dominating idea is giving the utmost attention to individual differences. Each girl has a counsellor with whom she meets once a week to discuss her problems and progress. The counsellor plays an important part in the system, being the integrating center for all of the student's courses. It is to the counsellor that reports are sent from each teacher at the end of each semester discussing the student's individual work. Instead of a formal marking system, the student receives constant criticism and help all term from her counsellor and instructors. Then at the end of each term she receives these reports which are in terms of exceptional, good, satisfactory, or unsatisfactory on such things as aptitude, interest, quantity of work done, quality of work done, and also receives constructive criticism.

The idea is always stressed that the function of college is to give the student a method of working which she can continue to use throughout her life.

The need for an underlying social philosophy in any educational philosophy is recognized and there is an attempt to give each a basis upon which she can build her own social philosophy. That which is behind Bennington is a scientific democratic philosophy, teaching liberalism with constant use of the scientific method.

The main aim of the college is to produce fully developed individuals who can function in a socially useful fashion and who can intelligently play their parts as members of society.

The success of Bennington in achieving this aim has been limited by a few characteristics which are recognized by the administration. The first is that the method of individual instruction is an expensive one, and thus its benefits are limited to the upper classes. The broad scholarship system attempts to change this a little.

Another thing is that it is limited to women. The benefits of co-education are thus denied.

The progressive group of students have voiced the feeling that a danger of the progressive system as practised at Bennington is that it can develop a certain individualism which denies the idea of social co-operation. By not having enough emphasis upon group participation and responsibility, this has become a very real problem.

One other criticism has been that the professed social philosophy has not really been made clear enough, and there are still many confused graduates. This would mean that any social philosophy behind an educational one should be really stressed so that students will know that being part of a democratic system must mean active work for each individual.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

By Gordon Donald

AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY there is one institution which should be brought up here because it is very unique. This is called the School of Public International Affairs. This course is divided up into numerous subjects such as Neutrality, English Farm Problems, The Philippine Islands and Latin American countries and discusses such problems as the TVA, cotton tenancy, the Negro problem, and health.

We take one conference a term to deal with what to many are extremely live subjects. The preparation for the conference is perhaps only in an experimental stage but is still very good. They do extensive reading and in some cases simple reports. In other cases the student makes out his own bibliography. We attempt to get as many speakers from outside the school who will speak and submit to questioning afterwards. Also we try to conduct interviews and field trips. This has not been done very extensively so far but more is expected and planned for in the future. On the basis of this material the student prepares a paper which helps in learning this method.

The system is very unique though still in an experimental stage. The students are divided into two groups. One half makes up the deliberative committee and the other half makes up the witnesses. The witnesses impersonate various characters or are experts on a particular subject which they have read extensively on. In all cases we make an attempt to impart the technical information to all the other witnesses and the committee. After the witnesses make a speech, they are subject to questioning by the committee each of whom has read up on a particular field or subject and tries to get as much further information from the witnesses as possible and sometimes to trap him if his knowledge is limited.

The making of definite decisions is something which is very significant and I wish I could see more of it for it does something far more than to leave everyone in an unsettled stage but rather helps to bring out any definite conclusions.

SARAH LAWRENCE

By Ruth Speyer

When you start talking about Sarah Lawrence College, people always exclaim in amazement, no exams, no marks, no required courses. And somehow they end up with the wrong idea of the college, its aims and its

standards. I would like to try and clear up some of these misunderstandings now.

When Sarah Lawrence College started 11 years ago, it was a junior college. In 1931 the Board of Regents of N. Y. State granted power to the college to award the B. A. degree. Therefore, it is now a fully accredited 4 year college.

Sarah Lawrence was established with the intention of centering education around the individual needs and capacities of the student, rather than around a curriculum with inflexible standards and requirements.

On this basis of individual differences and on the theory that learning proceeds essentially through the effort of the learner, it has been arranged so that there are no required courses.

As a rule a freshman will take at least one exploratory course, of her own choosing, her first year. These courses are designed to give freshmen a sense of how much there is to know, as well as to begin training her powers of observation. These are not "survey courses" as their primary purpose is to stimulate the thought processes of the student and secondarily to broaden horizons.

A student usually chooses three courses. Often advanced students feel the necessity of taking four, and occasionally a student may work in two fields. This leaves time for field trips such as attending a concert in N.Y., or visiting a factory in Yonkers and for extra-curricular activities such as the French Club, the A.S.U. and in some cases taking an active part in leading the courses given to employees each year.

Each student has a faculty advisor, called a don, whom she meets for ½ an hour a week. The emphasis here is largely on a personal relationship between the don and the student. At first the don guides the student, helps her choose her courses and plan her time. As the student gains independence, he stands by as a friendly critic and adviser.

While each of our classes meet for only two hours a week, the preparation for each class takes from 12 to 14 hours. Classes have not more than 14 students and are usually run as discussion groups. The lecture method of teaching is rarely used. In addition to class the student meets with each of her faculty for ½ an hour a week. In this conference she discusses class-work and work done on special subjects which interest her. This special work may lead to consultation with another faculty member with whom she is not taking a regular course.

There is also the possibility of correlating work, such as studying the 19th century in a history class and in a literature class, or such as writing a paper connected with two courses. One girl did a paper for Psychology and American Civilization by doing a case history of three foreign-born children and how they assimilated American ways of living.

There have also been various courses taught by more than one teacher. An example of this was Psycho-biology. The Psychology teacher and the Biology teacher each gave a unit, and the students in each field became acquainted with related material in the other field.

It is also possible to have a conference course, where the student works alone with the teacher on a certain subject, giving as much time to it as she would a regular course. You can see now that the system at Sarah

Lawrence is more similar to graduate study than undergraduate study.

The students at Sarah Lawrence fall into four groups. 1. The girl who comes to college with a definite interest and who spends her first years working intensively and does not broaden to new fields until her last years at college. 2. The girl who comes here not knowing what she wants to do, finds it and intensifies her work the last year or two. 3. The girl who follows her interest right through. 4. The girl who takes three different courses each year.

There is a curriculum committee which consists of both students and faculty, which discusses possibilities for next year's courses in relation to these different types of students, to the need for more advanced courses for the growing number of juniors and seniors, and to consider suggestions which arise during the year from the student body for new courses.

With work as varied and individual as this it is easy to see that standardized things such as exams and marks are not suitable. Instead of marks each student gets a written report from each of her faculty 4 times a year, which tells her what she does well and what part of her work could be improved.

The method of judging a student's work is based on individual development, aiming toward intellectual and emotional maturity.

The administration has maintained giving a diploma after 2 years because they feel it is a good policy in the case of a student who finishes a unit of work and may want to continue her work at another college or the student who feels she has gotten all she wanted out of college in two years.

The degree is given after 4 years of continuous development including work in more than 2 fields and evidence of advanced work in some one field, for instance, a long paper, a musical composition, a research project in science.

You are probably interested in the type of student admitted to a college of this sort. It is felt that a girl with a purpose and ability to move toward her goal is college material as well as a girl with only a high I.Q. to recommend her. Undoubtedly many of you feel that Sarah Lawrence is a rich girl's college. This is true in a sense. Owing to the lack of endowment, it has been necessary for the college to depend on the tuition as its main source of income, therefore the tuition has had to be higher than that of most colleges. However, the college gives as many scholarships as it can and is working to increase them.

There is a lot more I could say on the unique quality of the community government at Sarah Lawrence. Students, faculty and employees are organized units of government and each has representative committees, which meet with each other at various intervals. I would also like to emphasize the point that this is a faculty run college. There are no heads of departments, there is a faculty advisory committee on appointments and there is, above all, faculty and student cooperation on the basis that both groups are people and have something to say for themselves.

ANTIOCH

By Robert Claiborne

TWO POINTS WHICH JOE LASH brought out in his report are very important. He mentioned helping the student find himself, find his place in society, find out what his real interests are and at the same time talking in terms of his own needs and own problems. At Antioch we approach these problems mainly through what is called our Cooperative Plan, which works out as follows. The year is divided up into several periods in which the students alternate at study and at working at regular jobs. These jobs are about the same as any other employee would get and one is expected to live on what one makes. The object is first, by giving the students vocation experience in a number of fields to help him decide just what field he wishes to specialize in, and, second, when he has so decided, to enable him to combine his studies with practical experience in the vocational field of his choice.

Now in theory this is all very well. Unfortunately it does not work out so well in practice. First there is the question of getting jobs. Back in the old days of 1928 and 1929 everybody had jobs. Nowadays, with ten or twelve million unemployed it becomes rather difficult to get not only suitable jobs but any jobs at all. That is one problem which we at college cannot do very much about.

The best which we can do is to add our voices to those who see some remedy for unemployment.

In the second place there is a question which, though not very important in the past, is now very outstanding. That is the attitude of the progressive student toward his job. For instance take a situation which might arise and which probably has come up in the past. A student is on a job. A union organizes at his factory or office. Does he strike or does he scab and lose his self-respect? Some say the student should be neutral. He does not work and he does not strike. We are students who feel that we belong on the side of labor.

I think one possibility which exists is getting jobs in organized industry. Unfortunately, however, in the past we have found the unions not very responsive to this plan because they feel the jobs of their members would be menaced by these students. In the future we shall have to point out to them if the students cannot become union members they will work as non-union men. This calls for some cooperation between colleges and organized labor.

This meeting has done much to aid me and I hope to take back to the campus some very important and enlightening points.

RESOLUTION

Be it resolved that the 4th National Convention of the American Student Union:

1. Condemn the undemocratic action of Dean Russell and the Teachers College administration in closing New College as a backward step in American education.

2. Further urge our chapters to send letters and petitions of protest to Dean Russell and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Teachers College and to urge other organizations and individuals to do likewise.

3. Finally pledge our whole-hearted support to the progressive New College students and faculty in their fight to maintain New College.

Commissions:

"THE UNIVERSITY WE WANT TO STUDY IN"

TUESDAY AFTERNOON

2:30 to 6:30 P. M.

CURRICULUM

Address By DR. CHARLES OBERMEYER, *New College, Columbia University*

(Much of what follows I owe to our democratic struggle for survival at New College, Columbia . . . a struggle that has taught some of us more than we can as yet put into words . . . C. O.)

A GREAT PART of our curriculum is old and traditional, and serves to make us obedient to authority rather than free. It indoctrinates, hands on old teachings and 'facts' without a sense of 20th-century needs. What we need is a functional knowledge that will cut like a knife into our problems, . . . and all our problems can be subsumed under the main problem of building a democracy.

Can we build a curriculum that will function in the democracy that is emerging and that the A. S. U. is anxious to encourage?

Yes, if we courageously and realistically relate the content of our curriculum to the problems of democracy and the form of our teaching and learning to the democratic process.

In the matter of content, for instance, the history of Philosophy can be seen as the history of the social mind as it sharpens itself to grapple with the problem of controlling its environment and of achieving freedom. Science and Mathematics can be understood as the actual basis of technology and that in turn as the foundation of democracy. History can be seen to make sense only when it becomes the intelligible story of social organizations, of struggles towards new kinds of freedom based on new controls over the environment . . . the story of emergent democracy.

Great books, so-called classics, should be taught as essential products of men who entered into the living problems of a living age, fighting battles, leading groups, suffering exile and imprisonment. The classics are documents in the struggle for social values. (They are usually expounded by professors who keep far from the front of life and even avoid any real 'written' controversy.) Art should be seen as an anticipation or articulation of solidarity of unity in difference, of dynamic composition . . . all aspects of the democratic process. Psychology should not be separated from Sociology and the healthiest climate for the so-called 'psyche' should be clearly demonstrated to be a democracy in the fullest sense of the word.

American Social Science, finally, should become particularly conscious of the problems of achieving a broader, firmer base for our democracy: problems of the C.I.O., N.L.R.B., social legislation, of understanding and combatting the American varieties of Fascism, of integrating itself with all the many world-fronts on which the battle of democracy is being fought.

What can the A.S.U. do in the matter of Curriculum building?

As the most socially-conscious group of students it can

- a) become a clearing-house of student opinion and criticism on each campus, constructively criticising dull and irrelevant courses,
- b) lead the demand for new courses in Labor Problems Recent Legislation, Social Backgrounds of Literature and Art, Analysis of Fascism, etc., wherever necessary . . . always with an eye to function in the democracy that is emerging,
- c) help to indicate where new job opportunities, e.g., with the Labor Movement, are being created for students,
- d) help to break down the barrier that exists between students and faculty and so further the cause of democracy on the campus. (It can begin by contacting faculty members with avowed similar purposes, e.g., members of the Teachers' Union).
- e) lead and instruct the campus in group-discussion and parliamentary procedure . . . the fundamental techniques of a functioning democracy.

RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions: 1. *Resolved* that the Commission urge that each chapter of the ASU attempt to call a conference in conjunction with the College Teachers' Union wherever possible, of all interested student and teacher groups and individuals, for the purpose of discussing the existing curriculum and suggestions for its change, with an eye mainly toward: a. changing the content of existing courses

b. introducing new courses, and

c. seeing to it that courses which are intended to provide professional training are modernized to keep pace with existing professional opportunities.

2. *Resolved* that the Commission urges that equal curricular opportunities be provided for evening colleges.

3. *Resolved* that the commission urges the establishment of courses on social hygiene and sex education where such courses do not already exist.

4. *Resolved* that the commission urges the establishment of courses dealing with the contributions of national minorities, such as the course on "A History of Negro Culture" introduced at CCNY.

5. *Resolved* that the commission endorses the proposal of Joseph P. Lash for a course in each college and high school on "A Primer for Democracy" — and further urges the National Office of the ASU to draw up pamphlets on the relationship between the various fields of study and the struggle to preserve and extend democracy.

6. *Resolved* that the commission urges the ASU to support a program in which the student can become familiar with art, music and dancing by actually working and creating in these fields.

Summary by Dr. Obermeyer

In his summary, Dr. Obermeyer attempted to concretize his general philosophy of curriculum by urging the following:

1. Closer cooperation between the ASU and the Teachers' Union.
2. That the ASU become the clearing house for all criticism of the existing curriculum.
3. That new courses be introduced to fit new job possibilities — e.g. law courses on the NLRB, S.E.C., courses on labor law and administration; courses on the CIO and AFL, history of the labor movement, etc.
4. That courses on the contributions of national minorities be introduced.
5. That courses on current problems, such as the economic causes of war be introduced.

CONTROL OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Chairman: MAIA TURCHIN

By ARNOLD SHUKOTOFF, City College, Chairman,
National Academic Freedom Committee
American Federation of Teachers

The problem of control in education may be approached from many angles.

I propose to consider the problem of educational control from the standpoint of academic freedom though you will find that I shall not slight other aspects. I grant that there is an element of personal preference in this procedure. But there is also a good educational reason, in fact two reasons, why academic freedom should be considered basic in an examination of control.

Analysis of the numerous violations of academic freedom that occurs each year suggests the conclusion that the struggle for freedom is too largely a matter of defense. We wait until a teacher or student is actively threatened or in trouble, and then we throw our embattled forces against the offending administration. I am not suggesting that we can dispense with this work but there is an *offensive* that we can take, and that would, tremendously reduce the number of cases requiring defense work.

Consider the Jerome Davis case at Yale, and the Walsh-Sweezy case at Harvard. Jerome Davis' colleagues — the permanent officers of the Yale Divinity School — unanimously nominated him for reappointment and overwhelmingly recommended a three year term. Nevertheless, the judgment of the Corporation, not of the faculty, prevailed. Now Yale has elements of democracy in its government. But no judicial machinery exists to which Professor Davis or the faculty could appeal the Corporation decision.

Furthermore, the functioning of whatever democracy exists was circumvented in 1936, in 1933 and in 1930, because each time the question of promoting Davis to a full professorship (and life-time tenure) arose, Dean Weigle told the faculty that the President, or the Provost, or the Corporation or all of these were opposed

to Davis' promotion; and the faculty refused to recommend promotion. We may well agree, therefore, with Professor Yandell Henderson of Yale when he states: "The Yale tradition of government of the Faculty by the Faculty is virtually extinct . . ."

If we examine various student cases — the expulsion of Reed Harris by Columbia University, the expulsion of 21 students by City College in 1933, and others — the same factor that we encounter in the teacher cases stands out prominently. Jerome Davis, J. Raymond Walsh, Reed Harris, and the 21 students operated in an educational set-up in which the violation of academic freedom was comparatively easy of accomplishment. To those who would like to suggest that an explanation of these violations is to be found in the calibre of the administrators, we shall not say "no". We have not forgotten Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, nor can we forbear in glancing at the academic graveyard to say "Alas poor Robinson, we knew him well. However, more fundamental than the personality of the administrators is the *autocratic* set-up that made arbitrary and discriminatory action possible.

EXAMINATION OF STUDENT CASES

There is a second reason for considering the status of academic freedom basic to the problem of control. There are scores of violations of freedom occurring daily which will never become cases and which are nevertheless as significant as the cases. An instructor who wishes to marry requests a salary increase. He doesn't ask it because he wishes to marry, but because the desire to marry gives him enough courage to ask what he merits. He is chided; told that a scholar should be interested in the higher things in life; and finds that his department head has it in for him. Thereafter, he keeps his peace even when he has suggestions merely of an educational character. Another instructor, who is faculty adviser to a dramatic society, finds that he is not being advanced as rapidly as he should be. He considers why—then remembers that the Dean had advised him, oh so gently, against directing an anti-war play. A third instructor finds himself faculty adviser to a "ram-bunctious" Student Council. The president suggests that he ought to sit on the lid slightly. Friendly to the students but feeling himself weak, the instructor resigns the post to another man who knows what is wanted and does the job.

EFFECT ON EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of this situation is that educational policies are affected. The teacher who develops reticence about questions of salary and promotion usually learns to keep suggestions regarding curriculum, teaching methods and the like to himself. Administrative absolutism most harshly affects the younger men. And they as a group, because of their proximity to the students, to social change, to recent educational developments, are perhaps more likely than older colleagues to contribute suggestions for changing old courses, adding new courses, seeking new objectives, employing different methods. From the standpoint of conservatives as well as liberals, the suppression of educational change engineered by an autocratic set-up is unconscionable.

The effect upon students, too, of an undemocratic set-up is most unwholesome. In addition to a conforming teaching body, we find a subservient student body. Paradoxically perhaps, the teacher who leaves his department office an oppressed minion strides into the classroom a despotic tyrant. Independence of mind, critical thinking, and frank discussion go out the window — and with these, the educational process. In their place, come dull *lessoning* by the teacher, shrewd fawning by the students, and a general sense of hopelessness.

There is a remedy for all these evils. At the present moment virtually all national teacher organizations are actively concerned with the problem. My presence here testifies to the activity of the American Federation of Teachers. The Progressive Education Association and the American Association of University Professors are also interested in the question.

That a beginning has been made in this work is well-known. Minor democratic reforms have been made at Smith College, Sarah Lawrence College, Columbia University and Harvard. More thoro-going developments have occurred at the University of California and the University of New Hampshire. But the most thoro-going democratization of college government, in so far as I know, has been that introduced at the New York City colleges by the Board of Higher Education. Although other teacher organizations, including the AAUP, participated in democratic hearings held by the Board of Higher Education before the new by-law was introduced, the motive power and the program for the change came largely from the New York College Teachers Union, Local 537, A.F.T.

A DEMOCRATIC SET-UP

What are the essential aspects of the new set-up?

1. The Faculty has been enlarged to include instructors, who acquire voting power after two years.
2. In place of department heads appointed by the President for life, we now have department heads elected by the permanent members of the department for three years.
3. Recommendations for original appointments and promotion to the instructorship instead of being made by the department head, are now made by an elective committee representing the various ranks. Promotions to the Assistant Professorship and above, instead of being made by department heads, are now recommended by the next higher rank or by a committee of department heads.
4. In colleges where the Faculty exceeds 100 members, a Faculty Council is elected, including 3 representatives from each department. The faculty has right to review the action of the Council and overrule it, if it desires, by a two-thirds vote.
5. Committees of the Faculty Council, instead of being appointed by the President, are now elected by the members of the Council.
6. Where no judicial machinery existed in the colleges previously, there now has been established an agency to which individuals may bring their grievances.

With proper foresight, the Board of Higher Education recognized also that democratic forms may be deprived of content where staff members feel insecure. In passing the democratization by-law, it therefore passed another by-law giving permanent tenure to staff members who had served for more than three years, specifying causes for dismissal and creating a faculty machinery for hearing charges.

I may say that the program advanced by the College Teachers Union included democratic features which have not yet been embodied in the new by-law. No reference is made as to how presidents shall be chosen no provision is made for faculty representation at Trustee meetings. The new set-up also has some flaws. Committee recommendations for appointment and promotion to the instructorship do not require, as they should, ratification by the entire department. The Union has an abiding faith that in time these flaws will be removed. Suffice it to say that the introduction of democracy has already proved a tremendous inspiration to the staffs. The democratization by-law has significantly spurred interest in the curriculum and educational policy.

STUDENT SELF GOVERNMENT

Faculty democracy has also inspired interest in student democracy, so that various groups are now at work seeking to formulate proposals. A Union committee has formulated a tentative program on student self-government, the main points of which I should like to summarize — though I confess I think we have more to learn from you on this point than you from us:

1. There shall be a student council, elected democratically by the entire student body.
2. The Council shall have full power over intra-collegiate activities, such as the chartering of student clubs, the collection and distribution of extra-curricular funds, the assignment of rooms for meetings, the disciplining of student organizations for violation of Student Council regulations. On all of these matters, the Council shall be responsible directly to the faculty or appropriate faculty committee. If it desires, the Council may choose a faculty adviser.
3. There shall be joint student-faculty committees (consisting in equal number of students and teachers) on Curriculum, Discipline and Student Services.

Lest you feel that the achievement of student self-government is utopian at the present time, let me indicate that on June 24, 1938, a Conference on Student Government in American Colleges and Universities held at the Office of Education of the Department of Interior reached the following conclusion: "The program of higher education should afford all students the fullest opportunity to participate actively and decisively in student government."

In concluding, I think it is wise to indicate that our concern with the achievement of Democracy in Education has broader horizons than the achievement of that democracy *per se*. Fundamentally we are concerned with democracy in society itself. We recognize that education may become a fortress of democracy in America against the inroads of Fascism. But we are deceiving ourselves if we do not recognize that education

cannot effectively defend democracy unless it is itself democratic. Building the American Student Union and the American Federation of Teachers are fundamental requisites in this work. We require in addition, however, the united action of all teacher and student organizations and the support of the organized labor movement.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COMMISSION ON CONTROL OF EDUCATION

1. In the interest of developing a higher education which will more truly serve the needs of the American people:—be it resolved that the ASU go on record as advocating the representation of faculty and alumni on the Boards of Trustees of the Colleges and Universities of America, such representatives to be democratically elected from their constituent groups; be it further resolved that the ASU urge the holding of open Trustees' meetings, and that machinery be set up whereby student and faculty petitions be dealt with openly and the votes of Trustees be officially announced.
2. Be it resolved that the American Student Union desires and urges the most complete cooperation between administration, faculty, and students in the establishment of campus democracy, and in the solution of student-faculty problems in such fields as curriculum and administration.
3. Be it resolved that the ASU advocates popular control of education; that the *Boards of Education* include representatives of labor, and the community as well as of the educational system and that the Boards to democratically elected by the voters.
4. Be it resolved that the ASU encourage the democratization of *College administrations* thru such means as:
 1. Cooperation between faculty, students and administration in effecting policies.
 2. Community representation of business, farm, labor, and civic organizations as well as educational groups on the Boards of Trustees.
5. Be it resolved that the ASU help the students of Puerto Rico make their educational system more democratic.
6. Be it resolved that each chapter undertake a survey of the history of its Colleges, type and kind of faculty administration and control, type and kind of student control with a view towards discovering how the ASU can best help increase democracy on the campus. These investigations should include the effect of this control on the student body.

STUDENT GOVERNMENT

Guest Speaker: ADELE BILDERSEE, Dean of Women
at Brooklyn College

AN OCCASION like this is, first, one for congratulation. Student activities have come a long way since the literary and debating societies of their early years. No group can afford, however, merely to look back along the road whence it has come and to congratulate itself on its progress. Certainly this group is not making that mistake. Its eyes are on the road ahead. And it is exhilarating to swing forward along that road. To pause to chart the road is not at all exciting. To study the methods that have brought us thus far — whether *this* has been clear gain, whether *that* is a policy to be continued in the future, — this sort of thing may seem very dull. Yet it is evident that it is one of the principal purposes of a convention like this. Some such questions may relate to broad underlying principles of government, some to procedures.

Among these questions I should like you to consider whether a wrong direction has not been given to our thinking on this subject by calling student government on the campus *self-government*? Can we speak of faculty self-government? Has any group self-government? Do we not all *participate* in government? And is not this an eminently worthy goal. For college life and for life after college, we all need experience in the techniques of shared living, with all contributing. Student interests are not separate from faculty interests, nor are they in a world apart from parent interests or community interests. Students, faculty, administration, community form interrelated groups, bound closely together by common aims. None can hope to function effectively and satisfactorily without the others.

This philosophy of community of interest must be served by techniques of cooperation. These must be learned, and they are difficult. It is a truism to say that we are living through great social changes. Persons of middle age must make a conscious effort to understand the world that young people take for granted. Young people in their turn can understand the patterns of thought of their elders only if they have the wish and the will to understand them. Working together for the welfare of the entire community is an endeavor to call forth the best that is in young and old — all their resources of insight and sympathy, reasonableness, and persuasiveness. It is in this concerted effort that I see the future of government of the college.

DISCUSSION

THE GROUP EXPRESSED sincere doubt as to the effectiveness of cooperation without action, and suggested that at times militant organization is necessary to obtain the receptive ear of the faculty. The meeting closed with the election of a committee consisting of members from seven different colleges whose duty it remains to draw up a series of resolutions covering the following: the functions of student council, the mechanism of student council organization, relationship between student council and the American Student Union, and the problem of apathetic student response.

THE UNDERGRADUATE PRESS

Chairman: JAMES WECHSLER

Guest Speaker: LYLE DOWLING of the American Newspaper Guild

The press panel discussed the functions of the campus press and its relationship to the ASU and then dealt with the plan for associate membership in the American Newspaper Guild.

Several editors of college and university newspapers participated in the discussions of the panel. David Perlman, Editor of the Columbia Spectator, David Landman, Editor of the Brown Daily Herald, and Lillian Rosovsky, Editor of the Hunter Bulletin presented reports which demonstrated the varying problems in the relationship of the ASU to the press.

It was agreed that the functions of the college press should be to lead student opinion, to reflect the activities in the College, and to participate to the fullest degree in the life of the school as a whole. Peggy Rice of Chicago, Lillian Miller of Ohio, Nancy Torres of Smith, Solbert Bodenheim of NYU, and Esther Medalien of Minnesota gave supplementary reports. It was shown quite clearly that the particular problems faced by the college press were linked with the size and development of the ASU. For instance, several colleges where ASU chapters were small and not very active had papers which were not alert to social problems. Where ASU chapters played an influential part in the life of the college as a whole, the paper reflected that part with all its significance and interest.

The following code of ethics suggested by Howard Mandelbaum, Fraternal Delegate from the Newspaper Guild of N. Y. was adopted, and it was decided to submit the code to all college and university newspapers for adoption.

CODE OF ETHICS

BECAUSE WE recognize the responsibility of the undergraduate press to the college community as a whole and realize that it is the first duty of that press to report all the news affecting the student body, we defend the right of the college press to lead and reflect student opinion and we decry any organized attempt on the part of an individual, organization, or administration to interfere with the rights and duties of the press. We set forth the following code of ethics in order that the students who write the news may be guided and protected in the fulfillment of their rights and duties in the college community.

We affirm:

That the undergraduate newspaper's first duty is to give the college community accurate and unbiased news reports and that students who write the news be guided in their contacts with the community by a fundamental respect for the rights of individuals and groups,

That the equality of all members of the college community should be observed by the college press, and that reporters should not be swayed by political, economic, social, religious or racial prejudices, but should be guided only by facts and figures,

That the role of the press in the college community is to further all aspects of student citizenship in order to best serve and advance the democratic activities of that community,

That the college press should work through the efforts of its members to prevent the suppression of any legitimate news or editorial comments concerning the

college community and to combat censorship of news wherever it exists,

That the news shall be edited exclusively in the editorial rooms and independently of the administration or any group,

That the selection of staff members and editors of the college press shall not be influenced by racial, religious, or social prejudices, but shall be made solely on the basis of merit,

That college newspaper men and women shall conduct themselves in a manner indicating independence and self-respect and shall avoid any demeanor which might be interpreted as a desire to solicit favor from any group or individual.

Lyle Dowling, representing the American Newspaper Guild, introduced the consideration of associate membership in that organization. He explained the part which associates play in the Guild and the benefits which would accrue from membership. A fraternal delegate to the Convention from the Newspaper Guild of New York was an associate member. He pointed out that aid from the ASU in setting up associate units of the Guild would promote the bond between students and labor, as well as introducing trade union education to students in a specialized field of interest.

Lillian Rosovsky, chairman of the coordinating committee of the associate membership in New York, suggested that the ASU take the initiative in fostering associate units of the Guild. She showed how the Guild could aid in instances of censorship and cooperate effectively in other ways with the ASU. She suggested that the ASU cooperate with the Guild in devising a system of awards for outstanding student journalists.

Associate membership in the Guild is open to students working on college papers or majoring in journalism or attending schools of journalism, and to teachers of journalism. Dues are \$1.50 annually, and associates receive free subscriptions to the Guild Reporter and are entitled to recommendations for jobs. Miss Rosovsky declared that associate units had been formed at most of the Colleges in New York and that they were participating in all Guild activities, including weekly lectures on specialized aspects of newspaper work. She referred the commission to the national office of the Guild at 1560 Broadway, New York, N. Y. for further details.

Whereas the American Newspaper Guild has opened associate membership to students and instructors, and

Whereas the Guild has declared that its own members and student journalists have common interests in the growth and unity of the labor movement, and

Whereas the ASU is interested in cooperating with all campus groups in promoting activities of benefit to students,

Therefore be it resolved that the ASU take the initiative in urging the college press and departments and schools of journalism to organize associate units of the Guild, and

That the ASU endorse the Guild as an excellent medium whereby students in this specialized field may become acquainted with the problems facing newspapermen, and

That the ASU cooperate on the campus with associate units in activities of common benefit, but that the two organizations be completely independent of each other in structure and authority.

STUDENT WORKERS & NYA

Chairman—Cal Schorer (Wis.)

Digest of Remarks By THATCHER WINSLOW, Assistant Director, National Youth Administration

In October of this year, Mr. Winslow stated, the NYA was aiding 312,843 students — 28 percent more than were aided in the same month of 1937. This increase was made possible by the large increase in funds appropriated by Congress to the NYA, totalling \$75,000,000 for the present fiscal year as compared with approximately \$55,000,000 last year.

NYA students are assigned to various types of jobs under plans which the school and college officials have worked out. Many of the colleges, particularly, have set up committees to do this work of job assignment and supervision; and the NYA is encouraging other colleges to follow suit. Certainly this is a matter in which students should have some voice.

"I have been asked," Mr. Winslow said, "to reiterate the statement made by our Acting Deputy Executive Director, David R. Williams, and to say that we welcome any recommendations that you may care to make upon possible improvements of the NYA's program and that these will be given careful consideration."

Mr. Winslow also discussed the basis on which NYA students should be selected, the type of work the students perform, and the general need among students for aid. He pointed out that a tabulation of the approved student aid applications received in the fall of 1937 revealed that almost seventy-five percent of the school students came from families receiving less than \$1,000 a year. "For students in such families," Mr. Winslow said, "the five or six dollars, amounting to at least \$45 a year, which they earn on the NYA program, makes a tremendous difference as to whether or not they can attend school. A sum of money equivalent to five percent of their family's total income means school supplies, bus-fares, enough to buy a lunch at noon, and sometimes decent clothing — rubbers for a rainy day or a warm sweater for winter weather." Almost one-third of the NYA college students, according to this same tabulation, came from families receiving a total income of less than \$1,000 a year; while seventy-five percent came from families with an income of less than \$2,000 a year.

DISCUSSION

Wisconsin pointed out that its success in standardizing student working conditions was obtained by the more direct means of a boycott and a fair list publicity system in dealing with employers instead of a system of unionization of workers themselves. This temporarily failed because of the large number of needy student workers, their transient nature and their lack of union experience.

North Carolina's problem was unsettled: displacement of poorly paid white student workers who objected by Negro help and the impossibility of arbitration between the two groups. Penn. State, Swarthmore and Illinois said fraternity domination and control of school press prevented improvement. Greater efficiency in organization was admittedly a remedy.

A motion was made protesting against use of NYA as a "military backlog" as of the New York Times, Dec. 28 statement on the President's armament plans. This

was declared out of order, since it was to be discussed at the plenary session. Objections were raised to lack of proportional allotment of NYA funds in tuition as against non-tuition colleges, and to no provision for NYA allotments to students in night session schools. There is an need for more NYA for the 9 million people not going to school between the ages of 14 and 21, whose only opportunity for education is in night sessions. Resolutions to back American Youth Act, NYA student unions, and democracy in selection of students were passed.

Resolution: whereas Evening Session students have been unduly discriminated against in the allocation of NYA funds by their total exclusion from said funds, be it resolved that ASU go on record as urging the NYA administration to include evening sessions in their allocations, and be it further resolved that a commission be set up to bring about immediate action.

CAMPUS HEALTH AND HOUSING

A Health and Housing Program for American Colleges and Universities

(DR. DEAN F. SMILEY, Cornell University)

EVERY STUDENT WHO hopes to grow and develop his various powers to their maximum during his college years needs:

1. Healthful living conditions.
2. Balanced and suitable activities.
3. Adequate health instruction.
4. Efficient medical service.

Criteria for setting up a university health program to meet these needs:

1. We should keep facilities simple and non-pretentious, in order to avoid heavy over-head with its accompanying high tuition, in order to avoid establishing extravagant and impracticable standards and expectations in the minds of students.
2. We should consider the educational significance of every facility provided. (Are we training students to face their after-college health problems with assurance and efficiency?)
3. We should build our program in such a way as to stimulate in the individual student a sense of personal responsibility for his own health. (Though certain requirements are necessary in the first year, we should graduate as rapidly as possible from "goose-stepping" and "spoon-feeding" procedures.)
4. We should endeavor to make each part of the health program a demonstration of efficiency and economy.

A Health Program for American Colleges and Universities.

I. Healthful Living Conditions.

1. Adequate housing possible in five different forms:

Fraternities and sororities
The Yale House Plan.
Dormitories (with wardens
(without wardens

- Private rooming houses
- 2. Good food at a reasonable price.
 - Commons
 - Cafeterias
 - Menu and buying service to fraternity stewards
 - Cooperative dining clubs. \$5.00 per week per student
- 3. Healthful classrooms.
- 4. Adequate play facilities:
 - Play fields
 - Tennis courts
 - Showers
- II. Balanced and Suitable Activities.
 - 1. Wisely chosen schedule of studies
 - Faculty advisers
 - Vocational advisers
 - Mental hygienists
 - Study hours in dormitories.
 - 2. Suitable physical activities and recreation.
 - Play facilities
 - Play direction and supervision
 - Play-time provided (and not at expense of meal-time).
 - 3. Social activities
 - Student social centers or unions
 - Deans of men and women
 - Competitions
 - Social clubs.
 - 4. Rest —
 - At night
 - At noon
 - At the infirmary.
- III. Adequate Health Instruction.
 - Required (1. Personal Hygiene
 - (2. Community Hygiene
 - (3. Anatomy and Physiology
 - Elective (4. Biology
 - (5. Bacteriology
 - (6. Mental Hygiene
- IV. Efficient Health Service.
 - Start with preventive and educational services
 - 1. Control of communicable disease
 - 2. Examination of entering students
 - 3. Hygiene instruction of entering students
 - 4. Hospitalization
 - As expansion becomes possible, add:
 - 5. Medical advice and first-aid
 - 6. Routine tuberculin testing and chest radiographing of entering students
 - 7. Re-examination of seniors, juniors, sophomores
 - 8. Routine Wasserman testing of entering students
 - Attempt only when funds are ample and suitable staff available
 - 9. Complete medical care

*Resolutions Adopted by Panel on
Health and Housing*

- 1. *Resolved* that the ASU support an adequate, compulsory course in person and social hygiene (the need for the course to be explained to all students), includ-

ing these topics: Nutrition, Birth Control, venereal diseases, consumer problems, and community problems, Tuberculosis and mental hygiene.

2. *Resolved* that the ASU support a thorough, annual health examination to include routine Wasserman tests and routine tuberculin tests or chest X-rays.

3. *Resolved* that a National ASU Committee To Save 100,000 Lives be appointed with one delegate from each school a member of the National Committee and three additional members to coordinate the anti-syphilis campaign. Minimal activity of each members should be:

- 1. Send a copy of enclosed letter to his college newspaper.
- 2. Insert a monthly notice in his newspaper, saying: 'Will you please devote one half an hour today (by writing to a legislator, etc.) to help save 100,000 Lives?'

Enclosed Letter:

"1. About 6,500,000 people in the United States have syphilis about 500,000 new cases occur each year; about 50,000 to 100,000 deaths are caused a year by syphilis.

2. Syphilis can be cured practically 100 percent if detected in the primary stage. All cases in the country can be detected and treated if one measure is adopted: —a syphilis "census".

3. A routine Wasserman Test with every periodic health examination (annually, if possible) will prevent thousands of deaths.

4. Formation of "anti-syphilis Committees To Save 100,000 Lives" in all organizations and support of legislation requiring routine blood tests: before marriage, during pregnancy, before government jobs are given and routine tests of relief recipients will prevent many deaths.

5. Routine chest x-rays with periodic health examinations will help prevent the 50,000 deaths caused by tuberculosis a year.

Are you willing to devote one half-hour a month to help save 100,000 Lives? The required action is: write one letter a month to a legislator, friend, or publisher (or speak to one person) informing him of (or quoting) the above facts; ask that he act upon them and that he write a letter a month.

Committee To Save 100,000 Lives
ASU"

4. *Resolved* that each college ASU health division form its own Anti-syphilis Committee To Save 100,000 Lives, under leadership of the National ASU Committee Member.

Recommendation: A mimeographed copy of the letter and program of the Committee To Save 100,000 Lives be distributed by the National Office to each delegate.

Submitted by

STANLEY AUGUST, *Secretary*
Harvard Medical School, Class of 1940
Committee To Save 100,000 Lives.

CAMPUS COOPERATIVES

By WALLACE J. CAMPBELL, Assistant Secretary,
Cooperative League of America

The cooperative movement in colleges in the United States has had a very long and checkered history. The Harvard cooperative which has been in constant operation since 1898. The Harvard cooperative in recent years has served the students well in giving them patronage dividends and service, but the students themselves have taken very little part in its administration and the "co-op" has lost most of its cooperative characteristics. From 1900 until 1930 there was a steady growth of "cooperative" book stores on college campuses, many of which are still in operation but most of them are under faculty control or have passed into the hands of private individuals.

Since the beginning of the depression in 1929 there has been a rapid growth of cooperative dormitories and cooperative eating clubs. Most of them have been set up on strictly Rochdale principles and have acted as important education centers as well as cutting the cost of education.

The student cooperative at Texas A. & M. now has 1600 members and at one time supplied room and board for \$9.00 per student per month. This was made possible because of the large-scale buying, by student participation in the preparation of meals, and the bartering of farm products for room and board. Other cooperatives such as the Student Cooperative Associations at the University of Oregon and Washington State College, have provided room and board for their members for from \$12.00 to \$17.00 per month.

The Student Cooperative Association at the University of Washington is undoubtedly one of the outstanding co-ops in the country. Organized in the Fall of 1934 by thirty-seven students, it saved those students more than \$5,000 during that school year. During the next summer plans were made for the organization of other co-ops and the movement has grown on that campus until now there are ten campus co-op houses (three for women), with almost 400 members. The co-op has its own central kitchen in which it prepares

meals for all ten houses. It owns and operates two insulated trucks to deliver food steaming hot to the co-op houses; and the student co-op, together with the co-op stores in Seattle, have purchased a bakery and operate it on a cooperative basis.

The University of Washington co-op is now operating a clothing service and is the largest distributor of Golden Rule Nash clothes on the Pacific coast. Plans are now made to transfer their account to the co-operative clothiers.

As an educational feature, the student cooperative buys out the house for stage productions in Seattle several times a year and stages banquets for important speakers at no extra cost to the co-op members by serving meals in a nearby hall rather than in the separate houses.

EATING COOPERATIVE

While the University of Washington cooperative is more dramatic than many others, there are now important student cooperatives at many colleges. In the University of Wisconsin, five cooperative eating clubs are in operation, and a housing cooperative is being organized. The Student Cooperative Association at the University of California operates the largest apartment house in Berkeley and runs two other dormitories as well. At Purdue University there are nine cooperative houses and at the University of Michigan the Wolverine cooperative is serving 700 students in its dining cooperative. These are only a few of the 160 student cooperatives in the country serving almost 100,000 students.

The campus cooperative is an important institution, not only because it cuts the cost of living on a campus from one-third to one-half, but it is equally important because it acts as an educational center. Student co-ops traditionally receive the highest grade averages on the campus and are centers of liberal and progressive thought and student organization. Because of the training in democracy which the cooperatives afford, they are rapidly becoming an important American bulwark against dictatorship. Hundreds of graduates of Student Cooperative Associations are now playing important roles in the further growth of the American cooperative movement.

FROM CANADA

ADDRESS BY GUI CARON OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS CLUB, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, CANADA

I APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY of describing to you, briefly, some Canadian student problems as they exist today. At the outset, might I say that we are becoming convinced more and more every day that our difficulties are part and parcel of the general needs of the Canadian people. We feel the increased need for unemployment and social insurance, for better industrial conditions, the abolition of child labor, for farm aid, and, particularly for students, a system of national scholarships. The greatest need of students is the system of National Scholarships. There are not more than a dozen entrance scholarships in Canada of sufficient value to put a student completely through a university course. The fees are so prohibitive that not more than 5 per cent of the high school graduates enter university.

No doubt many of you have already heard of our famous Padlock Law. It has the avowed purpose of

abolishing Communism, which our Prime Minister says is the only menace to civilization. Actually its main purpose is not to fight communism. It is definitely opposed to any democratic or liberal form of thought. Hundreds of houses have been raided, property smashed and persons molested without any judicial process such as is required to protect justice. And what propaganda has been considered Communist? Everything from Joseph Stalin to Mark Twain and Charles Dickens.

But, you may say, students are generally uninterested in such affairs. They are interested only in their studies and education. To answer this, let me tell you something of our little affair on the McGill campus in the early part of this year.

The Social Problems Club organized a political symposium, in which leaders of representatives of Canada's six parties were to address McGill students in weekly meetings on the programs of their respective parties. Meetings were held in the McGill Union, which is operated by the Students Society, although legally a part of

(Continued on Page 40)

The School We Want To Study In

HIGH SCHOOL SESSION
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11
11 A.M.

Chairman: THERESA LEVIN, *Acting High School Secretary*

Address By EVELYN MOKREN, *South Philadelphia High School for Girls*

SOUTH PHILADELPHIA High School for Girls is a very good place to talk about in a panel called the high school we want to study in. In many ways, I think it is ideal. I shall attempt to tell you about the unusual and progressive things in our school.

One of the main reasons why South Philadelphia is such a wonderful place is Miss Ruth Wanger, our principal. She is a very liberal and progressive person, and is beloved and respected by all the girls and faculty. It's not difficult to get in to see her, and it's rare that you have to make an appointment. When I was president of the Peace Club last year I fairly lived in Miss Wanger's office. Even though she had been very ill this Fall, she spoke at our Eastern Pennsylvania District ASU Convention.

Our school was built about 1915 and was meant to hold two thousand pupils. We now have 3200, so you see that we're fairly bursting out of the seams. Our building is not one of our best features, but we're doing our best to beautify it. The school populations consists of about 50 percent Italian, 25 percent Jewish, and about two hundred Negro girls. I'd also like to add the South Philadelphia is a fairly poor neighborhood with a good many people on relief.

DALTON PLAN USED

The most interesting thing about our school is the curriculum because it is run on the Dalton Plan. Our classes are divided into medium, rapid and slow, and each group is allowed to work at its own pace. If a girl receives 85 percent or above in any subject she is asked to do some extra work, called maximum, in that subject. Our work is mapped out on guide sheets and in each class we can work on them at our own rate of speed. For students who have difficulty with regular courses, there is the modified course, which is very practical. It includes English, social studies, typing, mathematics, in which the girls are taught necessary things such as making change, and the study of foods and clothing.

Of course it depends somewhat on the teachers, but many of our courses are very progressive and educate the students in the social problems that the ASU is interested in. The American history courses include a week and a half of labor industry, current events on the average of once a week, discussion of elections, study of housing and factories. When we studied about these last two, we visited several housing projects and a factory. In 11A we have special classes where the History and English courses are correlated. This class is for girls who make out well in both subjects. Students write their English themes on topics in History, and their history exams are graded for English. When the Chinese delegate to the World Youth Congress was in Philadelphia, she spoke to all our history classes.

Ours was unfortunately the only high school in the whole city at which she spoke. Just the other day we had the members of the cast of Prologue to Glory to perform for all of our history classes. Two of the actors put on one scene from the play, the one between Abraham Lincoln and Anne Rutledge in the country store.

SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES

The social science course is perhaps the most outstanding one in the school. At least half of the senior class always takes it. During the depression the main emphasis was on economic problems such as unemployment and relief, but now with the growth of fascism abroad the emphasis is being shifted to the problems of minority groups. We learn the reasons for prejudices and discrimination, and about the contributions of the various groups to American history and culture. As a result, Miss Wanger feels that the students are very much alive to the injustice of discrimination against Negroes, Jews, or any other group. I know that we are very much interested in these problems, because last year when we picked our topics most everybody wanted to write about the minority groups.

In social science we are taught about labor, problems of organization, and strikes, so that we can understand what is actually going on. When we had argumentation, we picked our own topics, such as the Japanese boycott, collective security, socialized medicine, whether or not married women should work, and which was better, work relief or direct relief.

I can give an example of how Miss Wanger and the teachers try to make the curriculum alive. In Philadelphia now there is a great deal of discussion about a new city charter, and many students at school are interested in it.

CITY CHARTER TO BE DISCUSSED

We're planning to have one day when the charter will be discussed all through the school. Miss Wanger has suggested to the various department heads how they can tie in the charter with their work. For instance, the art department could study city planning that day. The mathematics department could discuss taxation, what a wage tax and a sales tax are and what they mean to a poor man. The science department could take up the problem of health and water supply. In the English department the pupils could be taught how to write to their representatives and senators, and how they could explain to their family or friends about the charter. The Italian department could show the Italian children how to explain it to their parents who may not know English well. The history department might spend several days studying the charter from the political and economic viewpoints. How far these suggestions will be carried out, of course, depends upon the individual teacher.

While I am talking about the charter, I may as well mention that we have a charter club in the school to discuss it and work for its adoption, and Miss Wanger says that the Students Association could distribute petitions which the students could take home and explain to their families.

To show you how free we are to bring up problems

which are real and important to us, I will tell you of an incident which happened last year in one of our social science courses. One of the students who was a Catholic girl asked the teacher whether she ought to follow the political opinions of her priest. The teacher answered that it was not up to her to say, since she was a Jew, but proposed that the girl discuss it with the other Catholic students. The class was turned over to the discussion, and the girls finally came to the conclusion that they should accept the priest's judgement in religious and moral questions, but not in political questions.

FREEDOM IN CHOICE OF SUBJECTS

All through the school the girls are given a great deal of freedom. For instance, in the vocational art classes, our teacher asks us what we want to do, in the beginning of the term. Last year we decided to make masks and papier mache plates, belts and scarves. This year several of us wanted to paint murals to be hung in our lunchroom. We picked our own subjects and made our own designs, and the students gave us money for the materials. The students, teachers, clerks, and cleaning ladies and nearly everyone else in the school come in to say what they think of them, and their suggestions are very helpful. The subjects we picked, are Women in Science, Women in Industry, Women in the Arts, Women in the Home, and Women in Sports. Three of them are almost finished.

We have a modern dance group, which was started four years ago. Our physical education teacher had done work in the dance, and didn't know what to do with it, so Miss Wanger suggested having a dance class. We take two periods a week and get gym credit for it. We have tryouts for the junior dance group in which the girls in the senior dance class are the judges. We test mainly to see whether the girls have a sense of rhythm and some understanding of music. The dance classes are run very democratically; everyone gets a chance to lead at least once. We design our own costumes and make them. We also work out our own dances, and the students pick the one they like best. There is a wonderful feeling of friendship and cooperation in the dance group. In addition, our group is the only high school dance class which is invited to participate in the college dance symposiums. Sometimes we get lower rates for tickets for dance recitals.

Last year the art classes were invited to come and sketch the dance group in action, and also to suggest ideas or costumes. I was in one of those art classes and in that manner became very interested in the dance, and later joined the group.

SCIENCE SURVEY COURSE

You can see how much the school tries to fit the curriculum to the girls' needs by the new senior science course. The commercial girls didn't have time for the regular science courses, such as chemistry and physics. So now there is a new course which has a little chemistry, a little physics, biology, the study of the food and drug acts, and how a consumer should buy. Our hygiene and sex courses come in the last year. These courses are very good and quite thorough, and are very popular with the girls. However, some of us feel that they ought to come in 10A before we've learned everything wrong and the teachers have to "un-teach" that, before they can really get to work.

The school has a very liberal policy about letting the girls mix their courses. Many of them take some academic and some commercial subjects. Most of the girls don't feel that they're really properly educated if they get out of high school after taking only commercial courses.

We have what is known as an honors system in our school. Any girl who makes out very well in her subjects is permitted to take one extra period a week to work in a subject she likes very much. Some girls take English literature, some take handicrafts, and others take languages.

We have a really wonderful school library, with the latest books, correlated with work in the classes. Special classes have their own material. In our American history class we had Modern Age books, like the Labor Spy Racket, Men who Lead Labor, the Autobiography of Lincoln Stephens, and others of the same type. The library is very popular and the books are very well used.

As far as assemblies, the teachers work out the programs. However, we run our peace assemblies all by ourselves. Last year at our peace assembly we had two thousand students attending. The reason we couldn't have the whole school out is because our auditorium is not large enough. We passed several resolutions, one to lift the arms embargo on Loyalist Spain. This is really wonderful, in a school which is fifty percent Italian and Catholic.

STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION ELECTIONS

One very important thing in our school is the Students' Association. To be a member you have to buy an SA ticket which costs 5c, and which sometimes gives you reduced rates at the neighborhood movies. The president of the SA is the girl who was elected vice-president when she was in 12A. The vice-president is chosen very democratically. First, nominating petitions are circulated, and then there is a primary election, where all but the two highest are eliminated. Then there is a general election between these two. The qualification for voting for vice-president is just your SA card. The other members of the SA are elected representatives of each home room. The SA meets regularly and takes care of any projects the students may wish to undertake, such as collecting money for the hospitals in the neighborhood, carrying on the scholarship funds, fixing the facilities of the school, trying to modernize the student government and so on. Anyone who has any suggestions or complaints tells them to her SA representative, who then brings them up in the meeting.

The SA president meets with the school council, which is the committee of teachers, secretaries and clerks of the whole school, and tells them anything the SA wants done. For instance, some of the girls suggested that the social science course should be simplified for people who do not have very much time, and that it be made compulsory for all seniors. The SA president took it up with the school council.

The SA is affiliated to the National Association of Student Officers, and the school paid the way of our delegates to their convention last year. The SA has two faculty sponsors, both fairly well liked by the students. Each class has its own officers, a chairman, and assistant chairman, and a hostess to take care of visi-

tors, and a secretary. The chairman is in charge of the class when the teacher leaves the room. In one history class last year, the chairman taught for practically the whole term. The girls were angry because she didn't get one fifth of the teacher's salary.

CRITICISM OF FACULTY

Last year we were permitted to criticize our teachers one day. In every class we would send the teacher out of the room, and then sail into her. Then we called her back and our chairman told her tactfully the suggestions we had to offer.

Our school paper comes out about as often as a magazine, five times a term. This year the editor is an ASUer. The staff of the paper comes from the news writing classes. Every home room and every form has a reporter, and there are special reporters for special occasions. For instance, after I attended the United Student Peace Committee conference at Swarthmore last Spring, I was asked to write an article on it for the paper. A reporter attended the ASU district convention this Fall. The paper has faculty sponsor who never turns down things at all if they are well written.

One really remarkable thing about our school is our commencement. Miss Wanger thinks that most commencements are very dull, so ours is dramatic. We can choose what we want to put on, and the clubs work on it all year. The dance groups, dramatic clubs and the music department work together to make it really a beautiful program. The only speaker is Miss Wanger, and she usually only talks for a little while.

We can have practically any kind of club we want. We have a peace club, which worked out the peace assembly last year. Our chairman is a Negro girl. This year we decided to have a penny day to raise money to help the Chinese students, so the peace club asked the SA whether we could have it. It was approved, and at every assembly for three days we collected pennies. We had a big wash-basin on the stage, and SA girls stationed every four rows with tin cups. After they had collected the pennies they brought them up and dumped them in the wash-basin. The final amount was \$22.35. Miss Wanger called up the ASU district office to find out where the money should be sent.

We have language clubs in our school, and I belong to the Spanish club. When we return from the Christmas holidays we are going to put on a play.

We have a parent-teachers association, which has about two hundred paid up members. The most important thing it has done was to supply the instruments for our school orchestra, and also it helped to oust Bessie Burchett.

We also have an athletic association at our school. With the purchase of an AA ticket for five cents we are allowed to join the fencing club and use all the gymnasium equipment after school.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES INAUGURATED

When Miss Wanger first became principal it was during the depression. At that time there were no social activities in the school. We operated on the shift system then, one from 8:15 to 12, and the other from 1 to 5:30, so there really wasn't any time for fun. However, Miss Wanger felt it must be pretty gloomy at home for the girls, when everyone was broke, and she emphasized having a good time in school. Now we have

some kind of a dance every week, given by various clubs.

At first the Negro girls used to go to Miss Wanger and ask whether they could have a good time at the dances and proms. But there were never any objections to their going, and they always seem to have a good time. I asked Miss Wanger about discrimination, and she said that she doesn't think the girls feel there is any prejudice in the school.

Since our school is in a rather poor neighborhood, many of the girls need extra money to go to school. Miss Wanger says that by hook or by crook South Philadelphia usually manages to get the biggest NYA appropriation in the city, an average of \$1,500 a month. This is still not enough and everybody knows it, especially Miss Wanger. When girls need to have extra food, the school gives them lunch or milk checks, because some of the girls were self-conscious about taking free lunches when they were given. Then, for girls who are under 16 and can't get on NYA, the school has a small fund from which carfare and lunch is given when it is needed.

One thing Miss Wanger worries about a lot is getting scholarships for girls who can't afford to go to college. South Philadelphia gets two scholarships from the city and an art scholarship, and Temple University offers a scholarship also. The school itself is trying to develop a scholarship fund in the memory of Dr. Lucy Wilson, our former principal. Dr. Wilson was a wonderful person, and Miss Wanger is like her in many ways. Dr. Wilson left \$10,000 to the school, and the school constantly keeps adding to it. This June there will be enough to start paying a scholarship of \$100 for four years. There is usually enough money left over from the school fund to help another girl through some higher education. Miss Wanger says that the scholarship situation here is terrible, very different from New York.

HEALTH SERVICE FOR STUDENTS

The school has a doctor for three hours every day and a nurse all the time. The hospitals in the neighborhood give the students clinical treatment for 25c which the school pays if the student doesn't have enough money. The students contribute at least \$250 each Christmas to the hospitals in the neighborhood.

Since our school is in so many ways an ideal place, you might think the ASU could not have any work to do. But we still have a tremendous task. Since the initiative must always come from the girls in discussing topics like the Japanese boycott, it is our job to plant the seed. We must make the girls alive to the opportunities in our school, and see that they make the best use of everything that is offered. We have to fight for a new school building, more books and paper. The task of the ASU is to work together with Miss Wanger, the faculty, and the SA, to help them carry out their ideas and suggest new ones. Here also, the ASU can set an example for the ASU chapters in other Philadelphia high schools, and help pave the way to recognition, and give valuable suggestions to other chapters as to how they can improve their own schools. We can do a great deal of work right next door, in the boys' school, whose principal, (dictator type), I'm afraid, is not much like Miss Wanger. He kicked the peace club out of his school.

Since our ASU chapter is co-ed, with students from

the boy's school as well as the girl's, our chapter has tremendous work right at home. With the Girls' High as a shining example of what a school can be, our chapter and the ASU district can clearly see what has to be done. By the next convention I hope we shall be able to report a good many other high schools like that of South Philadelphia for Girl's to carry on the slogan of our convention Keep Democracy Working by keeping it Moving Forward.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL

By MR. JACOB M. ROSS, *Principal of Alexander Hamilton High School*

A. AIMS

1. To aid the student.
2. To improve the school.
3. To develop the teacher.
4. To serve the community.

B. GUIDING PRINCIPLES

1. To allow for democracy in educational procedure and administration.
2. To allow for voluntary service and initiative of teachers.
3. To allow for use of teacher's talents and expression of teacher's personality.

C. BENEFITS POSSIBLE

1. For student:
 - a. Inspiration through teacher's personality and talents exemplified in extra-curricular activities, club life, home room, individualization in teaching, exploratory courses, guidance both educational and vocational.
 - b. Better teaching through interest in students of school.
 - c. Better results in school work.
 - d. Better adaptation of work to students.
 - e. School conducts all phases of miniature social world.
2. For School: Administrative participation in following ways:
 - a. Grade advisers.
 - b. School conference leaders.
 - c. Vocational and educational guidance.
 - d. Investigations of problem boys.
 - e. Program making.
 - f. Truancy follow-up.
 - g. Assembly leaders.
 - h. Courses and term-plans, development of same by committees.
 - i. Subject conferences by leaders of the faculty.
 - j. School decoration, supervision of patrol, of sanitation.
 - k. Club life, extra-curricular activities.
 - l. Standardized tests are rated and used for grading of student body.
3. For Teacher:
 - a. Improves his qualifications as High School leader.
 - b. Makes use of his talents and hobbies.
 - c. Encourages service to pupils beyond walls of classroom.
 - d. Develops professional attitude of responsibility and interest.
 - e. Develops social solidarity in faculty.

4. For Community:

- a. Teacher in Parent-Teacher Association.
- b. Teacher in Relief work.
- c. Teacher in visiting homes.
- d. Teacher in cooperation with city and community agencies, such as health, police, relief, citizenship.

School Services and Opportunities for the Students

A. The School Provides for Happiness and for Wholesome and Associated Living for Pupils.

1. Helps them to live healthfully.
2. Encourages cheerful teacher attitude and pleasant room.
3. Has established a feeling of interracial understanding and good will.
4. Has established extra-curricular activities to satisfy every urge of the children.
5. Has planned a program for leisure hours—Museum visits, outings, library membership, attendance at good movies.
6. Uses building daily from 3 to 5 and 7 to 10 to give boys full program of physical and social recreational facilities and educational help, and allows parents to get the same opportunities to make them more cheerful in their attitude toward their children.

B. The School Presents an Opportunity for Service and Leadership by Direct Participation in Activities that Call for Service and Leadership.

1. The idea of service is shown by instances of service among teachers, leaders of clubs, activities, school patrol; service rendered the community by leaders who visit, by alumni members of the school.
2. Class Service.
3. School Service.
4. Home Service.
5. Community Service.

PARENTS AND THE SCHOOL

Digest of Remarks of MRS. JOSEPH M. KOHAN, Chairman of Advisory Committee, United Parents Association

Overcrowding in the high school division of education in New York City, is one of the major problems. This is due to the law compelling attendance until the age of seventeen, and to the limitation for the employment of young people in our mechanized age. It is wiser and more wholesome for youth to keep busy at school than to be idle. Because there is little left of the systems of apprenticeship, it is wise to acquire as much technical and vocational skill as is available, before venturing into the commercial fields. It is very essential to try to determine one's desires and aptitudes because doing work happily is more apt to lead to success.

While it is important for youth to be interested in all of these problems, it is very important that they interest their parents in the attempt to solve them. If parents had known what the educational needs were, perhaps by now we would not have had the congestion in high schools that there is today because they would have insisted that there be greater public provision for education. A good way to do this is to get parents to join parents associations. In this way parents can get to understand and help remedy many situations.

A civic conscience and a sense of social responsibility are excellent characteristics to develop and keep functioning throughout life.

Commissions:

"THE SCHOOL WE WANT TO STUDY IN"

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27
2:30 to 6:00 P.M.

IMPROVED SCHOOL FACILITIES

By JAMES SCHLECHER, *President, New Utrecht A. S. U.*

ON WHAT BASIS should we build the ASU in the high schools? This question is asked so frequently by leading members of the ASU that is our purpose to discuss these problems and suggest concrete proposals for building the ASU around a program of school betterment and education.

In my report I will cover 3 major points:

Firstly—Why a School Betterment or Local Program?

Secondly—What are your local problems?

Thirdly—How to solve them?

The ASU is an organization by and for the students and any program set down for the chapter must be sure to include this important factor.

Should we try to present the ASU as an organization of "intellectuals" and book worms who follow a difficult national program and at all meetings have theoretical discussions on one thing or another, or, on the other hand, should we present a simple program of school betterment, education and action for democracy, peace and social progress?

TWO METHODS OF PRESENTATION

There are no two ways about it. Experiences shows us that difficult programs and theoretical discussions get a chapter absolutely no place except to leave the members in confusion and discontent. If students are given a simple program which concerns them, then the membership of our chapters will grow by leaps and bounds.

A long time ago, I pointed out to a friend of mine that it was almost impossible to make a liberal student, or for that matter any student, progressive by presenting our ASU program in the form of long winded discussions. Passing through the halls, with an ASU pin on, you could hear your fellow students say, "All they do is to talk and argue. Why don't they do anything to help us?" or, "Oh, they're just a bunch of adolescent intellectuals".

I pointed out to my friend that with a good school betterment and educational program we would increase our membership greatly.

This statement became a reality this term when a large number of new recruits joined just for our school betterment program.

An annex chapter, just started this term, and built primarily on its local program, already has a membership of 30 people.

In the future we should bring forward more adequately and thoroughly than in the past, the things that are vital to the students in the high schools.

The purpose of the ASU is to make students realize the problems that face them in the schools today and to show them how to solve these problems, thus furnishing them with a sound basis of how to face the more difficult problems in the country.

It is our purpose to help them to be better citizens by

supporting those people who support the things they need and want, such N.Y.A., A.Y.A., a Doctor in the school, and more recreational facilities. We strengthen democracy by making the students in our organization conscious of the things about them and arming them with the knowledge and conviction to make them take an active part in the extension of democracy in the community.

THEME APPLIED TO LOCAL PROBLEMS

By making our Convention theme "Keep Democracy Working by keeping it Moving Forward" we point out that we are strengthening democracy by fitting it to modern conditions. This then leads to the question, "What are your local problems," because by solving these local problems, we are extending democracy in our schools.

In order to decide upon local programs for your chapter, one meeting should be set aside during the term to be devoted to a serious discussion of this matter. Concrete proposals will be the result of good discussion, and your program for the following term will be "made to order" by the students themselves.

Let me give you an example of what I mean. At just such a meeting, in one of the high schools in N.Y., a girl told the membership about a friend who had an attack of appendicitis while in school. She was sent down to the health office and told to lie down until all her classes were over. The person in charge, by the way, was just a teacher who had a free period at that time. The girl had to stay on that bed for over an hour, holding her side in pain before she was able to go home. The girl was very lucky that the attack was not serious but had it happened again there is no telling what the consequences might have been. Later in the term a boy fell down a flight of stairs and injured his head. This started the drive of the ASU for a doctor in the school. A motion was passed that a committee be formed to investigate this matter, and report back to the chapter what progress had been made.

Exactly how this committee functioned will be dealt with in detail in my answer to the last question, "How to solve your local problems?" But now, how else can we find out just what the problems of the students are, and just what they expect of us. This is a very simple matter if we have a well organized and functioning membership committee. Assuming that we have such, our personnel committee, which is usually a sub-function of the membership committee, will get the required information. Now, at every meeting an attendance sheet is passed around the room with all students present writing their names and addresses on it. This is given to the chairman of the personnel committee, to be used for a contact list of all interested students.

METHODS OF CONTACTS

Members of this committee personally visit those new people and ask for suggestions for building the ASU. In this way new members feel that they are a part of our organization and help in formulating our policies.

Another good suggestion is to interview school leaders and ask them for constructive criticism of our program.

In my school there are over 10,800 students yet only about 800 signed a "Save Czechoslovakia" petition. This was far from discouraging for we well knew that the students did not fully realize the significance of the Munich Pact.

Clarifying the issue of Czechoslovakia. What does this mean? It simply means that in the future we must be wide awake, that bringing forward our local program will result in awakening interest in the ASU, thus making it easier for us to bring our peace program to the students. In other words we are breaking ground by preparing students for something bigger. With these thoughts in mind and with a knowledge of what the local problems are we move on to the concluding question "How to carry out your local program".

POINTS IN PLANNING DRIVE

The carrying out of any program requires a lot of hard work on the part of the whole chapter. There are no definite rules to follow because conditions in different schools are never similar and therefore require a different plan of attack. There are, however, certain basic things which you have to keep in mind before planning a drive.

First of all remember that your faculty adviser is your friend. You should come to him with your problems and get his approval of everything that you do. He is more experienced in advising you just whom to see, and where to get to find things. It is always wise to keep in close contact with your adviser.

Second—make the ASU a part of the school by securing the cooperation of the leading students and clubs in the school before you take any steps to remedy such conditions. Working with these various school organization and school leaders will show the students that the ASU wants to be cooperative and, therefore, be an aid to the school.

Third—the ASU'ers should themselves become part of the school, by joining the different clubs, and thereby securing the support of these organizations in the solving of local problems.

Fourth—if you obtain the cooperation of your community and parent organizations, your job is cut in half.

Fifth—the announcement of your willingness to cooperate with your faculty and administration, in these undertakings, is another step toward furthering your local program, and by the way, it is also a step nearer official recognition in the High Schools. These suggestions, although general, can be applied to any situation that may arise.

SOLUTION OF LOCAL PROBLEM

In order to give you something definite to work on, I will show you how one N. Y. high school chapter began to solve the problem of how to get a doctor in the school.

With information that a boy had injured his head and that a girl had an attack of appendicitis, the committee on local problems interviewed their assistant principal. The talk with the assistant principal proved very successful as he wholeheartedly supported the action of the ASU to get a doctor for the school. He suggested that they gain the support of both the teachers and the parents, and then bring the matter before the principal.

A letter was dispatched to the Teachers Union asking their support on this matter. Naturally they accepted

and promised to support this undertaking.

Some time ago this matter was taken up by the Parents Association but nothing ever materialized, because they were very weak and couldn't find a practical way of getting the doctor for the school. A letter was sent to the president of the organization, who is a doctor himself, with the hope that they would support this movement started, now, by the student themselves. This matter is to be taken up the parents at their next meeting.

While the parents are discussing the matter, very active and important work is being carried on by the chapter.

Every Gym teacher has been interviewed and has been asked for his or her support with the result that most of them accepted, the head of the department saying that he would give them a written statement of his support.

The support of the Community Legislative Committee is also being sought. Besides being very powerful, by having congressman, rabbis, priests, lawyers and educators as sponsors, this committee is also very progressive.

It is also important to note that this committee represents most of the neighborhood stores and organizations, and if the ASU could gain their support in this action then they could be certain, that a doctor will be placed in the school. They were assured that this important matter would be brought up at the next meeting.

The next step was to get school leaders to sanction their efforts to get the doctor. The President of the G. O., while attending a chapter meeting, was very much enthused with this idea and said that he would suggest the matter before the next G. O. Congress.

As I said before we learned the hard way. But there is no need or you to do the same. Our purpose at this convention is to iron out all our difficulties and then give concrete suggestions as to the forming, and carrying out of a school betterment program.

I have here a number of questions, which I would like you to keep in mind and answer throughout the discussions.

QUESTIONS

1. What are the local problems in your school?
2. How have you attempted to solve or remedy them?
3. Did you secure the aid of your school clubs and faculty? If so, how did you do it? If not, why not? Did it matter much in the results?
4. Do you think that the high schools should stress, more strongly a school betterment program?
5. By stressing a school betterment program, do you think the H. S. chapters will grow?

COMMISSION'S FINDINGS

THE COMMISSION felt that an awakened interest in the ASU can be gotten by carrying out a program that is directly connected with the student, namely, the facilities in the school. Cooperation can be obtained with the various community organizations. By a general vote it was found that most schools have very poor sanitary conditions. The health facilities are also very poor. Some schools have excellent facilities, but students must pay to use them. It was found that lunch room facilities are very poor and the prices of food are too high. Some schools are dreadfully overcrowded

with schools built for 3,000 accommodating as many as 9,000 students.

One method to improve these conditions is by petitioning the authorities in the schools. Striking and picketing tactics were found to be undesirable. Students found that by cooperating with faculty advisors and the authorities many of these defects can be remedied and such activity will help to get recognition in the schools. Cooperation with Parent Teachers Associations and with other community groups can help to eliminate overcrowdedness by building new schools and getting annexes.

HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM

1. Introductory remarks by Mrs. Rose Riegger of the Walden School.

A very brief outline of the material in "Education for American Life"—the result of the Regents Inquiry, by Dr. Luther Gulick, was made by the speaker.

1. Philosophy underlying the report
2. Statistics on Growth of Secondary Schools.
3. Recommendations of the Inquiry were read directly from the Report.

On the basis of this Report and her experience, Mrs. Riegger formulated and read a series of questions which she thought might be asked by H. S. students. She asked the delegates to make notes on the questions and afterwards speak about those which interested them.

1. Do you think it a good idea to have Honor students all in one class?
2. Should pupils be consulted in curriculum making?
3. Do you have an opportunity to function democratically in your school? How?
4. Is there sufficient opportunity for Social activities?
5. Should credit be given for such activities or clubs, etc.?
6. Do you have any integrated courses in your school? What do you think of them?

REPORT OF COMMISSION

THE DISCUSSION and the resolutions passed showed that the vast majority of students want a broad education for American life, and not a narrow vocational, academic or commercial training. In this respect we heartily agreed with the six broad areas of education suggested in the report of the Regents Board of Inquiry, directed by Dr. Luther Gulick. These follow: General Science, Community life, World History, Human Relations, the Arts, and Mathematics.

We agreed that courses of study should be integrated. Instead of studying any subject as isolated from daily life, or from all other subjects, we desire to study all phases of life today in relation to the world we live in.

In addition to our stand favoring integration and a broad education, and favoring the general nature of Dr. Gulick's report, we passed the following resolutions.

1. To oppose differentiation in schools according to sex and to favor making all secondary schools co-educational.

2. To oppose differentiation in classes between students scholastically minded and students otherwise inclined by limiting size of all classes to a maximum of twenty-five. This would enable all teachers to give a certain amount of individual attention to each student so that his personal needs and abilities could be expanded and aided.

3. To support the formation of Permanent Curriculum Revision Committees composed of parents, teachers, and students in all schools.

4. To urge equal status for day and evening schools.

5. For the abolition of the double session by increasing allotments for school building.

6. To endorse the Regent's Inquiry Board's recommendation to abolish Regent's Examinations as graduation tests.

7. To support and further the establishment of student self-government, wherever desired, as a means of practicing democracy in the schools.

8. To ask for courses in Problems of American Democracy, embodying such topics as racial understanding.

9. To endorse and extend to other sections of the country the decision of the Board of Higher Education of N.Y.C. requiring Tolerance Assemblies periodically in all High Schools in the city.

10. To further, and to take the lead in investigating teachers in our school system who have fascist principles or spread fascist doctrines.

We believe that this program will have real significance in making our education not merely preparation for life, but a way of life. We feel that the enactment of these principles will make our schools an impregnable fortress of democracy.

HIGH SCHOOL AND THE N. Y. A.

THE HIGH SCHOOL panel on the National Youth Administration and jobs was led by Thacher Winslow, Assistant N. Y. A. administrator. He explained the administration, origin, purpose and expenditures of the N. Y. A. A long discussion in which high school students from various sections of the country contributed, culminated in the following suggestions for resolutions.

1. That during the next session of congress the A.S.U. lobby for increased N.Y.A. appropriations.
2. That N.Y.A. be extended to all High School students in need and that work done by High School students should not be manual.
3. That the A.S.U. should participate in a wide spread educational program with N.Y.A. administrators, to educate the student body on N.Y.A.
4. That the summer school and night school pupils get N.Y.A.
5. That there be more vocational guidance in schools and more interlocking of vocational and educational training.

STUDENT GOVERNMENT AND THE SCHOOL PRESS

LAURA ROSENBLUM, *President of The General Organization, Samuel Tilden High School, New York City.*

In the schools, we find students faced with problems and needs, which, unless solved, will never make for the school we want to study in. It is our task, therefore, to concern ourselves with student government and attempt to set up a model to guide ourselves by.

The first thing that strikes up when entering school, is the curriculum. Is it training us for active participation in a democracy? Are subjects treated in terms of their relation to real life and not as pure theory? Of what use is the proof of the Pythagorean theorem in dealing with human relation and community life? The curriculum must give us what is now almost entirely lacking, a good general knowledge of the practical scientific and economic facts underlying our whole field of work. It must fit the needs of every boy and girl going out into the world to live.

NEED FOR REXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

But after five hours of learning, the school must provide a full social, cultural, and athletic life for every student. We need extra-curricular activities to train us to be citizens in the school and later on in life in our government.

That is where our General Organization comes in, (Student Council, Parliament, or Athletic Association). We want a Student Government that will be the unifying center for students, teachers, parents and community organizations to help make our school the institution we desire. We want our G. O. to be a really active force in the school and not to act just as a rubber stamp to appropriate money for a football team. Although our athletics are important, they are not the only need of the student.

The G. O. has a big job to fulfill in the school. It is the task of the G. O. to be foremost in school improvement. Is the lunchroom affording the student a sufficient variety of foods? Are prices too high? Is the lunchroom a sore spot in the school? The G. O. must be able to answer these questions fairly and impartially. What about the problem of health in the school? Is there a doctor and a nurse in constant attendance in the school? What is the purpose of teaching a good hygiene course and not practising your theory? Do we have a dental clinic in the school? In our school we are compelled to take physical exams at certain intervals. If we so desire, the school provides a physician who charges a nominal fee. But a one minute examination can never determine whether we are physically fit. Is our school library accessible to every student? Do we have a school library? Do we have a G. O. store in our schools? In Tilden we have a very commendable G. O. store which has prices lower than outside stores. Every school should have one.

SIZE OF CLASSES

Why do we have classes of 50 students with facilities to accommodate 35? The teacher as well as the pupil loses out with such a condition.

The G.O., an organization which is supported by the students, should in turn support them. The G. O. with the cooperation of parent groups should lead in the fight for more schools, smaller classes, more teachers.

Then let us look into the economic, cultural and so-

cial life of the school. We find large groups unable to continue their education due to financial needs. The Federal Government takes care of its citizens and the Student Government should also take care of its citizens. Our G. O. should look into the matter of N. Y. A. in school. Is it adequate? Does it help fit the needs of the student?

The cultural life of the students has, in the majority of schools, been ignored. Our weekly assembly periods give us an opportunity to present a program which will not only interest him but will add to his cultural background. In our school a faculty student committee has been formed to formulate the programs. Our school recently sponsored the W. P. A. showing of Macbeth. In the past we've put on excellent motion pictures in our assembly but not every school is able to do that. Why can't our student organization sponsor theatre projects to do worthwhile plays?

Then, do we have a library in the neighborhood within walking distance for all of us? Most of the students in our school have to travel miles to the nearest library, a condition which should not exist in any community. One of the most commendable activities supported by our school G. O. is instrumental teaching. Students who cannot afford musical lessons at home, receive lessons in school on school instruments absolutely free of charge. Our G. O. supports hobby shows, a marionette club, a camera club, language clubs, all of which add considerably to the student's cultural education. Many of our clubs play recordings of good music which were bought by the G. O.

SOCIAL LIFE OF SCHOOL

Lastly, we come to the social life of the school. G. O. dances are numerous and not only add to the life of a student but are a source of revenue to the G. O. In some schools we find dancing classes. Light entertainment shows put on by the students and shown in the auditorium with admission charge, proceeds going to the Student Aid Fund, are very profitable, not only in a financial way. If we had smaller classes we would have a better social life for the students. What about our athletic activities? Many schools sponsor an intramural competition and tournaments in the gyms. Do all our schools have fields that are near the schools? Do they have swimming pools?

The G. O. is the only organization directly responsible for all these improvements and it is up to us to see that they accept this responsibility.

In citizenship training we need only to point to our student government. Our G. O. is modeled after a regular government. There is an elected representative of G. O. members in every official or home-room class. This rep. attends meetings of student parliament or council or congress and takes part in formulation of school policy and the passing of bills. There is a school assembly where every candidate for G. O. office presents his platform, after which the students have an election. This builds character, develops initiative and prepares us for our place in the world. The G. O. should sponsor forums with a rep. of every political party presenting his party's platform. There should be a non-partisan investigation of current problems such as Proportional Representation. Peace education in our school, is spread mainly through the G. O. Our peace committee sent out a peace message to all students. Through

the G. O., the History Dep't. is sponsoring a peace magazine, all under the supervision of students. We conducted a peace ballot last term on current questions such as collective security vs. isolation. We have a regular peace contest every term in which \$25 is awarded for the best play, poem, essay and cartoon on peace.

Business training is received by students who work in the G. O. office, although knowing what amount comes in and not what goes out does not constitute business training.

Our G. O. sent representative to the Washington Pilgrimage last April for increased N. Y. A. We are affiliated to the American Youth Congress, the National Association of Students' Officers, and have two regular reps. at the P. T. A.

But if the G. O. is to cooperate with everyone to improve the community and the school, what is the role of the A. S. U.?

The A. S. U. must be the hardest, most conscientious working body to make the model G.O., which no school at the present has. We will never have the school we want to study in unless we have an organization consistently striving to improve the school. In our last elections, the A. S. U. candidates were the only ones who brought up actual school problems. They were elected. Our A. S. U.'ers are leaders of student government.

We often take up too many outside activities and do not concern ourselves enough with school conditions. But in our school, a candidate for G. O. Office lists as his qualifications, the fact that he is a leading ASUer.

What we want and need is a maximum amount of student self-government. Our faculty advisor must see to it that we stay within the bounds of the Board of Education, but he should never monopolize a meeting.

The school press should be the printed word of the students in their efforts to make the school we want to study in. It should reflect the needs and desire of every student.

This is a model G. O.

DISCUSSION

The discussion on student government reflected the difference between student government problems in New York and in Boston, Chicago and Philadelphia. It was discovered that in Chicago and Boston there is very little freedom in student government.

Some chapters represented stated that there was no student government at all in their schools. This made it difficult to organize any kind of student activities. Without student government, you cannot have school clubs, a school paper, and in some places, a school band.

All the delegates present felt that the ASU should work to establish student government where it does not exist. True democracy and citizenship training should not stop at the doors of a school, but the school should encourage active participation in self government. How can young people be trusted to solve future problems when they leave school, if simple school affairs are not entrusted to them? School administrations and faculty should have more confidence in students.

Where there is a resistance to the establishment of student government, it was recommended that the ASU secure the support of community leaders, Y and settlement house workers, parents and teachers, and, of course, other students. Most students do favor student government of some kind and it should be possible to

win unanimous support for a properly organized campaign.

It was felt by all delegates that the National Office should issue a bulletin describing how to set up student government, discussing what model government should be, and recommending activities for student government. Other delegates also thought that this bulletin should include a discussion on the relation of the ASU to student government.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

PRESIDING COMMITTEE

Robert Lane	Harvard
Bert Witt	New York District Secretary
Donald Thayer	U. of Wisconsin (Int'l Brigade)
Betsy Pifer	Vassar
John Kaufman	Swarthmore
Helen Levi	High School Secretary, N. Y. District
Jack Cottin	N. Y. U.
Ruth Henschel	Smith
Bob Wallach	Williams
Garland Embrey	U. C. L. A.
Frieda Harris	Rockford
Ward Goodenough	Cornell
Joy Rosenheim	Bryn Mawr
Marvin Rothenberg	C. C. N. Y. Main
John Yeldell	Howard
Claire Neikind	Brooklyn Day
Lloyd Galloway	U. of Chicago
Joseph Shill	M. I. T.
Eunice Zimmerman	Central Y. Chicago
Jerry Johnson	C. C. N. Y. Main Eve.
Julius Belcher	North Carolina A. and T.
Hy Meyer	N. Y. Tilden H. S.
Harold Rheinhold	Philadelphia H. S.
Norma Miller	Cleveland H. S.
Abe Polisar	N. Y. Lincoln H.S.
Pauline Bronstein	Chicago H. S.
Leon Smith	Washington D. C. H. S.
Dorothy Brooks	Belmont H. S., Los Angeles
Howard Gruber	N. Y. Harris H. S.

PROGRAM AND RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

College members:

Joseph Lash	National Secretary
William Hood	Philadelphia District Sec'y.
Howard Lee	Southern Secretary
W. K. Yee	M. I. T.
Toni Grose	Smith
Belinda Compton	Vassar
Maia Turchin	Brooklyn
Ken Born	Chicago District Secretary
Elaine Pear	Bennington
Nancy Bedell	Wellesley
Clinton Oliver	C. C. N. Y.
Lillian Yurman	Brooklyn Evening
Vivian Ingram	Boston U.
Gordon Donald	Princeton
Bob Perlman	U. of Michigan

High School members:

Sue Scherr	Chicago Hyde Park
Dorothy Stern	Roxbury, Mass.
Harvey Segal	Philadelphia
Maxine Ture	Cleveland
Jimmy Schlecher	New Utrecht, N. Y.

Continued on Page 82

Convention Jamboree

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 27,
HIPPODROME, 8:30 P. M.

The Hippodrome Rally opened with a stirring parade of the delegates.

Syracuse, Yale, California, Hunter, Michigan, Mt. Holyoke, Dartmouth, Vassar, Harvard, Cornell, CCNY, North Carolina, Antioch, Sarah Lawrence, Chicago, Swarthmore, Texas, Wisconsin.

They all marched across the stage waving college banners and singing the new ASU MARCH:

Break through reaction's line,
Send progress crashing through,
Pull together all the time,
And we'll win with the ASU, A-S-U!
Send the roar up; roll the score up,
On to victory,
While we rush down,
Score a touchdown
For democracy!

Six hundred of them marched in pairs of two while the crowd of 5,000 New York ASU'ers and their friends made the rafters ring. It was a colorful panorama of the best of the ASU on parade. It was a spectacle which the delegates and New York will not forget. The ASU was on the march.

Bert Witt

This morning, at the Pauline Edwards Theatre, City College Commerce Center, our 4th National Convention officially opened. It opened with a bang as only the Mayor of the City of New York can open a convention. Tonight we gather here in a more formal, a more public opening. I give you at this time, as chairman of the American Student Union, up until recently the chairman of the Student Union chapter at his own University, Harvard, BOB LANE.

Robert Lane

On behalf of the National Executive Committee, I want to welcome all the members of the American Student Union here and all the friends of the American Student Union. It must be encouraging for those who watch the student movement long had more heartaches than you and I can know, to see the audience tonight. It must be encouraging to Joe Lash, Molly Yard, Bert Witt and the others here. The dreams of Lash, Molly Yard and the others are coming true. Four years ago, in Columbus, a small group of people with little more than an idea, an ideal and courage to support them, set out to discuss a student movement. This morning, as Bert said to you, the Mayor of New York City opened the Fourth National Convention of the Student Union. This evening we are filling the great Hippodrome of New York to overflowing. We gather here tonight knowing that across the country there are chapters working for the things we want to see done, building better colleges, working for peace. Of all sections of this country, New York City has done the best job. We attribute that probably to the long loyal work of hundreds of thousands of students in New York, but it is partly a tribute to Bert Witt. It gives me great pleasure tonight to hand over the microphone to this dean of district leaders, BERT WITT.

Bert Witt

It is probably the greatest pleasure I've ever had to be the Master of Ceremonies at this gathering and to

see stretched out the results of the work of hundreds and hundreds of loyal members of the Student Union of our 60 colleges and high school branches in the City of New York.

It is a fact that we have with us tonight an American educator whose name has arisen very readily in the knowledge, the esteem and respect of the American Student Body. After many long and contributory years of service, the Chairman of the Department of History at C.C.N.Y. was given the difficult task of guiding that great institute as its acting president under circumstances which made the student body quite happy. And in a few short months since this summer he has made himself the friend of the City College students and the students of all the colleges. He has worked to mold out of one divided school a democratic unity which has taken that college into the front ranks of those institutions which are fighting their way and are becoming real fortresses of American democracy. You will recall the very excellent actions taken at the City College both in protest of the seizure of Czechoslovakia and later upon the occasion of the Nazi programs against the Jews and Catholics.

It was he likewise to whom it had fallen the task of working out in life the resolution passed this summer by the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York making vast and important changes in the system, and upon this subject, democratization of the educational community, we could have no better speaker than the Acting President of City College, whom I give you now, DR. NELSON P. MEAD.

ADDRESS BY DR. NELSON P. MEAD

Acting President of the College of the City of New York

"I am here, to greet you as the Acting President of the College which is the host of the American Student Union. I am happy to see a gathering of the youth of this country, from America and Canada, coming together to discuss in a period of 3 or 4 days, some of the extremely significant problems confronting the Youth of America, and of the world, and likewise problems which confront adults throughout the world today. I do not intend to discourse on the situation of the world. It is much too sad a subject to enter into tonight. To say that in some parts of the world there has been a reversion to the dark ages is an insult to the dark ages. There has been a reversion to the stone age.

"I have had occasion to come in very close contact with some of those who have suffered from persecutions in Germany and other parts of the world. I have labored now these past three years on a committee, placing a considerable number of distinguished colleagues who, through no fault of their own have been deprived of their jobs.

"When I was a student, as many of you are here today, we just took things like tolerance for granted, and never bothered to discuss them, and it is a very unfortunate fact that we must stand up to save those traditional beliefs, those traditional ideals of democracy which we have always accepted.

"However, the special thing that was assigned to me tonight to talk about is the question of democracy in the college. It seems to me that considering the college

in which you wish to study is an extremely apt and very timely subject."

Dr. Mead then briefly outlined the traditional relationship of the administration, staff and student body in the colleges and universities of this country, with particular reference to the past practice of the College of the City of New York. He then gave a survey of the new setup at CCNY which was provided by the recently established by-law of the Board of Higher Education of New York City. He pointed out both the advantages and disadvantages of the democratic organization of the teaching staff.

Dr. Mead stated that his observations of this new setup were necessarily tentative, because the experience has been too brief to form a basis of final judgment.

Dr. Mead concluded with his conception of the service which the American Student Union can perform in preserving and fortifying democracy on the campus and in the nation at large.

Bert Witt

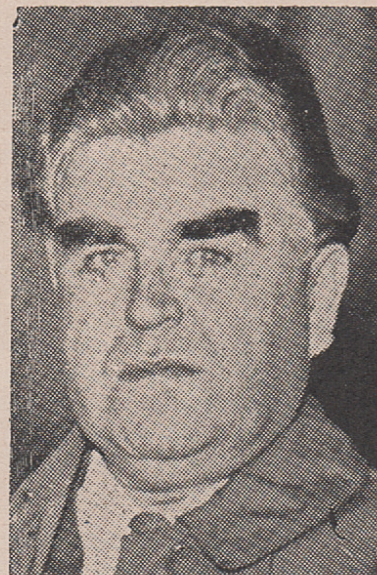
I should like to read to you a few of the more than 50 telegrams and messages that have been brought to me between the hours of 6 and 8 this evening.

ORGANIZED LABOR GREETINGS

For Democracy and Progress

Please convey my greetings to the convention of the American Student Union and my best wishes for the success of your deliberations and all your future work. The burden of depression and unemployment has fallen with peculiar weight upon the young men and women of this country who have been deprived of the independence which comes with full-time employment. The Congress of Industrial Organizations is deeply concerned with the fate of the younger generation and wishes to express its willingness to collaborate and cooperate with all youth organizations and movements whose object is to secure the loyalty of young people to democracy and progress.

JOHN L. LEWIS, *President*
Congress of Industrial Organizations



For the Democratic Way

I am glad to know that your organization has taken as its special work the maintenance of democracy on the campus. Students cannot too early become accustomed to the democratic way of living and acting. Essential to the maintenance of the opportunities of democratic life is self-discipline and realization that opportunity involves obligation.

I wish you every success in your deliberations and I shall, if possible, have an observer present.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM GREEN, *President*
American Federation of Labor

Students in the Service of Democracy

By JOSEPH P. LASH

THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION meets this evening, the acknowledged leader of 100,000 students in high school and college meets having chapters and active contacts in 300 academic institutions. It meets for this convention a responsible and stabilized institution within the educational community.

Let no one scoff at these achievements for the barriers of prejudice and legitimate scepticism that we have had to surmount have been formidable.

In the course of achieving stability on the campus we have not abandoned nor blunted essential aims: we have worked unflinchingly to awaken the student from his thoughtlessness and apathy; we have striven unremittingly for the welfare of our student generation; we have nailed to our mast the banner of a forward-moving democracy; we have been concerned with world peace and world democracy with which our own country's fate is indissolubly bound.

We are assembled at this 4th Annual Convention, 1,000 strong, to review our work and objectives in light of the year's developments. We can sum up the latter simply: we are meeting in the post-Munich world! The same vast significance that Sarajevo, Versailles, Locarno had for past generations of youth, Munich will have for ours.

CHAMBERLAIN AND DALADIER AFTER MUNICH

Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Daladier assured the world after Munich that the year 1938 would be crowned with peace and goodwill, but the year ends bearing within its womb the seeds of great tribulations for humanity in 1939. Munich has ushered in the crisis of democracy. It has uncapped a Pandora's box of racial hatreds, national chauvinisms, and bestial intolerances. It has imperilled free institutions throughout the world. It has galvanized the sinister forces of fascism in our own country, as exemplified by the Dies Committee, Father Coughlin and others. It has accelerated the drive to war. It has driven men of good will into hiding places and delivered nations over to the underworld of cut-throats, gangsters and the depraved. Freedom is destroyed; reason scorned; might enthroned. Such is the moral climate engendered by Munich.

Democracy is in jeopardy. Peace is in jeopardy. In these circumstances, the entire educational community must be enlisted in a vigorous affirmation of democratic principles.

How shall we help fire the campus with this active concern for the fate of democracy?

First, we have the primary responsibility of helping render our educational system a more sensitive instrument in the service of democracy. A student who would serve democracy must help mould the structure of the educational system in the image of democracy. He must help shape its courses so that they are meaningful and pertinent to a world in which democracy must move forward if it is to survive. He must help the school provide American society with leaders gifted with social vision. He must help assure equality of education opportunity.

The American Student Union proposes in the coming months to launch a series of student conferences on educational policy to help formulate student viewpoint on what education for American life should be.

A PRIMER FOR DEMOCRACY

Secondly, the time has come for a dramatic restatement of the principles of democracy in every educational institution in this country. We propose that every high school and college initiate a course "A Primer for Democracy" in answer to "The Nazi Primer" which would assess ideas of racial supremacy, the exaltation of violence, racial truths, thinking with one's blood, in terms of the principles on which our country is founded. In this connection, the American Student Union applauds the decision of the Board of Education to hold "Tolerance Assemblies" in the New York high schools. We welcome the recent action of the Catholic Bishops inaugurating an educational program in "true Christian democracy."

Fascism gains a hearing as government fails to serve human needs. We could view the future of American democracy with equanimity if all the American people were assured of adequate food, clothes, shelter, education and medical care, but one-third of all of America's families live on incomes of less than 15 dollars a week. Youth's loyalty to democracy would not be open to question if youth could look to the future with hope; but over four million young people are out of school and out of work. Fascism could never look to our universities for its storm troops if our college graduates had the prospect of good positions; instead they are confronted with the dismal outlook of joblessness.

It is therefore most ominous that the forces campaigning in the 1938 elections on a program of government withdrawal from efforts to meet human needs achieved a certain measure of success. Reaction appealed to youth in those elections telling us that the New Deal was mortgaging our future. But our future will definitely be mortgaged — mortgaged to disease, illiteracy, poverty and despair unless the New Deal's program for utilizing the instrumentalities of government for the common welfare is successful. We must unite the campus for the objectives of the New Deal. We must unite the campus to play a decisive part in the 1940 elections.

LACK OF SOCIAL CONTROL

There must be no ambiguity on this point. The sad plight of one-third of our population inheres not in individual shiftlessness, irresponsibility or any other Tory shibboleth, but in the lack of social planning, in the lack of social control, in the concentration of wealth. The American Student Union declares that the frontiers of democracy must be extended within our economic institutions. Organization of labor, of consumers of farmers, is one of the best guarantees that no aristocracy of wealth will continue to dominate our instrumentalities of government to its own exclusive advantage.

The American Student Union proposes that every college and high school formulate a legislative program that will help meet human needs. In our opinion, this means Federal aid to education in order to assure equality of educational opportunity. It means contin-

uance and extension of the NYA whose fate is intimately linked with WPA. It means Federal legislation to provide adequate housing and medical care. It means a comprehensive social security program. It means anti-lynching legislation. It means the safeguarding of labor's rights as embodied in the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the Wages and Hours Law. Such a program would create professional opportunities for college graduates. It would help block the road to the development of a domestic form of fascism. It would keep democracy moving by having it meet human needs.

Finally, any program to strengthen democracy in the United States cannot be divorced from its fate elsewhere. It is with pride that the ASU speaks on this subject today. Last year at Vassar predictions of dire catastrophe were made when we dropped the Oxford Pledge. A Student Union split was prophesied. It was said that the ASU had come out for war. But today we are more firmly united than ever while our opposition organizes its mass movement by coming to conferences that other people organize with mimeograph machine and press handouts.

EFFECTIVE PEACE LEADERSHIP

Only because we dropped the meaningless Oxford Pledge was the American Student Union able to give effective leadership to the campus peace forces during the past year. They say we are organizing the campus for war. Was it organization for war when we organized a one-hour protest stoppage against the Nazi seizure of Austria? Perhaps if there had been more actions like that, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia need not have happened. And in the Czechoslovak crisis, who else on the campus had a program to offer? Who took the leadership among students when the Nazis launched upon their night of barbarism? Who has gathered funds for Spain? Who has spoken out for China? In all this, we have been moved by one dominating concern — how to preserve American peace and American democracy. Because we have not been concerned with fighting phantoms and bogeymen, because we have not made a policy out of inaction or hiding under our bedcovers, they say we are for war. We do not believe for one moment that if the lights go out in Europe, that if the lights go out in the Orient, America will not likewise be engulfed in a twilight of reaction, and in the end, of war.

We are glad that American foreign policy today is increasingly one that is active in defense of peace and democracy throughout the world. We exult that American democracy has told Hitler off! We exult that American democracy has extended credits to China despite the blustering threats of the Japanese militarists! We applaud the Good Neighbor Policy and suspect it is on the right track for is it not denounced as Yankee imperialism by Germany and Italy? But we must go further. We hope that Congress will unshackle our foreign policy so that America's great influence can be used more actively against aggression. We must lift the embargo on Spain. We must halt our participation in Japanese aggression. We must strengthen the Good Neighbor Policy in the interests of democracy. Vigorous American leadership can halt the retreat into war. Vigorous American leadership can unite the peoples of the world against fascist aggression. For this policy, for these aspirations, the American Student Union has no apologies.

Such is the program of the American Student Union. It is a program that we believe can enlist the united support of the educational community. So concerned is the American Student Union that the entire campus enlist in this crusade to make of democracy a fighting faith that our convention wants to see the calling of a national Student Assembly for Liberal Action next Christmas. The campus needs and the student body is searching for channels to express their support for the objectives of the New Deal and to be effective in 1940. The American Student Union would like to be that channel. We are for that very reason prepared to cooperate with the mass of individual students, with teachers, with liberal educators and student leaders in the launching of such an assembly. The time has come when everyone must stand up and be counted for democracy. There are no sidelines in the post-Munich world.

I want at this point to clear up some misunderstandings about the American Student Union.

We are not a leftist or anti-capitalist organization. At no time have we made any declarations against private property. I am sure that no one in the American Student Union would advocate the socialization of tooth brushes. Neither is there anyone who would propose that the post office be turned over to private enterprise. We are concerned, however, that the amount of social control be determined by the needs and welfare of all the people, not any small privileged group.

The American Student Union is not anti-religious. We recognize that piety, charity, the needs of spirit, and humility in the face of our vast ignorance, find expression in religious worship and we stand for the freedom of such worship. Some people have accused us of being anti-religious because of our ardent devotion to the cause of democracy in Spain. We have no apologies to make for our efforts on behalf of Spanish democracy. But we do not identify Loyalist Spain with opposition to religious freedom, and we point to the decree of December 9th which re-established normal freedom of worship in the Spanish republic. It has become increasingly clear that it is fascism and not democracy that spells the destruction of religion.

We have been accused by the Dies Committee of being Communist, and being agents of a foreign principal. At least, that is what we learn from the papers. We categorically deny both these charges. We are not and have never been the agent or representative of any foreign principal. We are not dominated by Communists nor have we ever expressed any belief in or sympathy for Communism. We are not a "front" or blind for any person, any organization or any ism. Our only concern has been to awaken students from thoughtlessness and apathy to a concern for having democracy serve human needs. We have often stated that there were Communists in our organization, and as long as they adhere to the rules and principles of our organization they will remain. American democracy was founded and has flourished on the principle that everyone was welcome who plays the game according to the rules.

There is real justice, however, in the criticism of those who state that we have an anti-administration attitude. Dr. Leigh, President of Bennington College, has declared that sometimes it seems as if we assume almost a "student class conscious attitude of objection to faculties and administrators." We acknowledge this criticism.

We recognize that the educators and administrators of our schools and colleges by and large have a devotion to democracy equal to ours. We believe that among those who see the need for defending democracy, there can be cooperation, and we will strive to establish that cooperation.

THE ASU AND ROTC

Finally, let me make a statement with respect to the ROTC. We believe that the students in the ROTC and most of its instructors share a concern for peace and democracy as strong as that of the campus as a whole. Our criticism has been directed not at the membership of the ROTC, but at the anti-labor, anti-democratic bias which the ROTC manuals, instructors and exercises have demonstrated at times. In our effort to safeguard democracy, we believe that the members of the ROTC will accept their responsibility along with that of the whole campus.

We make these affirmations because we believe that today no irrelevant consideration, no accidental prejudice must stand in the way of the unity of all the campus forces for democracy. The entire educational community must be united to safeguard and strengthen democracy.

We have outlined for you the program of the American Student Union. It is in essence a program of re-dedication to democracy. It is a program that the student body will endorse. To achieve the widest possible

endorsement of the objectives of the American Student Union, to give them the widest possible hearing on the campus, let us launch a Human Rights Roll Call. We know that there are at least 250,000 students and educators who are prepared to stand up and be counted for democracy because they recognize that there are no sidelines in the post-Munich world.

Fascism has not gained the upper hand. This is not the moment for pessimism. Did anyone imagine that fascism and the system of enslavement that it represents would give up without a struggle? Its very excesses represent, not youthful vigor, but a last vain effort to survive just as a defeated man will make one more sortie before surrender.

Let us all stand fast — let us remain united, and fascism will shatter itself on the rock of that Unity!

Applause.

Introduce Thayer H. Brigade members.

(Prolonged Applause)

Bert Witt:

I feel very humble in introducing our next and last speaker to you. He is a fellow ASU'er who left his school to offer his services in what he felt was a most important battle of democracy. He did this at his own initiative, but in doing it, won the admiration of thousands of students. It is indeed, a great pleasure to introduce to you Donald Thayer, of the University of Wisconsin, Captain of the International Brigade.

From the World Student Association

RASSEMBLEMENT MONDIAL DES ETUDIANTS
97 Boulevard Arago, Paris XIVe.

Conseil International
Paris, les 17 et 18 decembre, 1938

Au Congres De L'American Student Union
New York City, December 1938

Le conseil international du R. M. E., reuni a Paris, les 17 et 18 decembre 1938, en presence de delegues de 20 pays, envoie ses salutations les plus chaleureuses au IV Congres de l'AMERICAN STUDENT UNION.

Notre jeune generation a faire face a d'innombrables difficultes, et avant tout aux menaces des forces reactionnaires qui se preparent a declancher de nouvelles agressions, qui se posent comme but l'aneantissement de toute liberte d'opinion et de conscience et qui font revivre les persecutions racistes moyennageuses.

De l'un de la jeune generation, capable de resister a ces attaques contre la culture humaine, et contre la liberte du peuple, depend, en definitif, l'avenir de la civilisation.

Dans cette union des forces libres et pacifiques de la jeunesse, les etudiants des Etats-Unis jouent un role de premier plan. Votre force, vos actions constituent un exemple pour les etudiants du monde entier.

Nous esperons que votre important congres marquera une nouvelle etape dans la collaboration, toujours plus etroite, des etudiants des Etats-Unis avec les etudiants

du monde entier, pour la defense des nos ideals communs, pour sauver la paix et la liberte du monde et pour venir en aide aux victimes de la guerre en Chine et en Espagne.

Belgium—Jean Burgers, Louis Fonsny, Pierre Laisnez.

Bulgaria — Alvaro Menendez.

Ceylon — Alexander C. Mathew.

Chile — Mario Carrasco.

China — Liu Sien-Wei, Shangbin Chen.

Czechoslovakia — Viktor Schless.

France — Marcel Bera, Chretien, Jean Daudin, Robert Faure, Phan Van Anh, R. Straus.

Great Britain — Arnold Kettle, M. P. Rose, M. B. Shapiro, Brian Simon, Betty Summers.

Holland—Tilly De Vries, Vicky Tan.

India — Mohan Kumaramangalam.

Indonesia—Setiadjit.

Italy—Giorgi Amendola.

Lebanon—Fayez Yared.

Luxembourg—Roger Noesen.

Poland—Lucia Domanska.

Spain—Rafael Armenteros, Fernando Gutierrez.

Syria—Edouard Toutoundji.

United States—Simon Copans, Kenneth May.

Venezuela—Blaho Hruby, Rafael Jose Neri.

R. M. E. Secretariat: James Klugmann, Andre Victor.

By Donald Thayer

It is fitting and proper that we honor those of our fellow students who have fallen in Spain in defense of a common ideal.

They left home: they left school and work: they left life, aiding with gun and sword, a heroic people who are engaged in a bitter life and death struggle for democracy. The desire to live flamed brightly within them, yet above this, above hope and ambition, was their desire to serve.

They felt that only in this way, by actively struggling against fascist aggression could they fully live up to the principles of democracy we Americans hold sacred.

Typical of these students was Paul Mac Eachron of Oberlin College and a member of the NEC of the A.S.U. He was a machine gunner and was killed at his outpost while stemming a fascist attack. He like the others gave his life in the simple performance of his duty.

Yet, these fellow students of ours are not dead, for their spirit lives on in us, in what we do here. They would have been eager to participate with us in this convention as they had in the past, in the building of this organization.

Therefore, let us pledge ourselves to continue the work they would have done for the lifting of the embargo on Spain and for the building of a greater Student Union which will truly be a fortress for Democracy,

FROM CANADA

(Continued from Page 25)

the University. We already had had a Liberal spokesman, J. S. Woodsworth, leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and had heard Adrien Arcand, leader of the Canadian Fascist Party. When Tim Buck, the Communist spokesman was about to appear, the Students Executive Council, due to the Padlock Law, stated it could not allow this meeting at the Union, although it expressed opposition to the law. Immediately a storm of protest swept the Campus.

The McGill Daily appeared with a blazing headline "Freedom of Speech at McGill Stifled" and a front page editorial denouncing the Padlock Law. Professors suddenly stopped in the middle of their lectures and asked "And why shouldn't Tim Buck speak?"

A general Student Society meeting was convoked to discuss the right of a Communist to speak at McGill. A meeting of over 500 students unanimously condemned the Padlock Law. However, when we were to decide whether the Union should be made available for Buck, there was some dissension. After a record breaking meeting, it was decided to allow Buck to speak. Those students, opposed to this decision claimed that while the Padlock Law was anti-democratic and anti-British, it was still legal and as such should not be broken.

While the Padlock Law has been termed unconstitutional by leading legal men, and while we knew Duplessis would not dare to padlock a university building, we felt that at that time there could be no split on the campus, which was whole-heartedly opposed to the Padlock Law.

In cancelling the meeting, we made our position clear, and called for increased participation in our campaign to repeal this law. The results of this decision can be shown. Every college paper carried daily stories of the "Buck affair". College editorials in every part of the country took up the cry of campus freedom. The repeal



Peace and Culture.

After Donald Thayer spoke, the audience stood in silence for one minute while taps were played in memory of those students who gave their lives in Spain.

This was followed by stormy applause. The Rally ended with the singing of the ASU song, "Alma Mater's Going Modern."

petition at McGill University with signatures of over 1,000 students and 80 professors was duplicated at other leading universities in Canada. The need for freedom of speech was shown when it was threatened on the campus. I must emphasize that these 1,000 signatures in no way indicate that McGill students support Communism. The students said: "We don't believe in Communism, but we demand the right to hear a Communist."

Students do react to issues and will continue to do so, especially when these issues affect the campus. Furthermore, we cannot allow any rift of opinion or action on the campus. The Social Problems Club endeavors to represent the opinions of all liberty-loving students and considers their unanimous support as being most important. It is not enough to have a minority support of liberal, democratic progressives.

We endeavored to keep this in mind when we initiated the campaign for the boycott of Japanese and German goods. Our resolution pointed out clearly that the boycott was not only in the interests of Canadians but in that of our German and Japanese brothers. At the height of our campaign, we received statements of endorsement from many leading campus figures, including the president of our Students Society, three Executive Council members, Chinese students and those Japanese students attending McGill.

I am also proud to tell this Convention that a spirit of friendly cooperation for the needs of the people is increasingly being reflected all over Canada. Trade union and democratic groups are coming to the fore in Canadian affairs.

Recently in Montreal, the largest city in Canada and second largest French-speaking city in the world, the mayoralty candidate of the reactionary Premier Duplessis, M. Gascon was defeated by Camillien Houde, supported by liberal groups. But in the popular vernacular, "This is only the beginning folks!"

The America We Want to Live In

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28
9:30 A.M.

PAULINE EDWARDS THEATRE PLENARY SESSION

Bill Hood, Secretary of the Philadelphia District was unanimously elected Chairman of the Morning Session.

Maia Turchin, President of the Brooklyn College delegation, speaking on behalf of the New York Delegation, explained the need for allowing out-of-town delegates a full opportunity to discuss their problems and experiences, and for not having New York delegates monopolize the discussion.

Hood—Each year we have with us several delegates from countries other than our own. This year we have fraternal delegates from England and from Canada. Before we go on with our regular program this morning, these two delegates will say a few words. George Bernard, now studying at Princeton University, is from England.

GREETINGS FROM ENGLAND

BERNARD—Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates. It gives me great pleasure to bring you the greetings of the 17th Annual Convention of the University Labor Federation of Great Britain now taking place in England.

I had the same task of bringing fraternal greetings to the American Student Union last year and at that time I felt proud to a certain extent to represent the organization I did, because at that time we felt we were in a more politically mature position than the ASU. At the last convention, the debates which centered about Peace were debates which we had gone through before, and had settled in a satisfactory manner. Also the University Labor Federation is, in proportion to the number of students in England, stronger than the ASU is in America. There are only 60,000 students in England, but there are more than 4,000 students belonging to the U. L. F.

This year the situation is somewhat different. I now feel in a rather ambiguous position. I feel that if I again have the pleasure of speaking to you next year I may be speaking on behalf of an underground movement rather than an officially recognized one. And I think that this should give us very much food for thought.

I do not need to describe to you what has been going on in the past few months in England. I do want to emphasize the following two points:

1. The situation is not as bad as you think it is. Chamberlain (or Anthony Eden) doesn't represent the majority of the British public. The results of the elections have shown a strengthening of feeling against the government.

2. There are many people in England who are doing enormous work in opposition to the Chamberlain Government.

8,500,000 leaflets have been given out for Spain in the past few months. That means one to every family in Britain. In addition, the U. L. F. has played its part. Cambridge has raised \$5000 for Spain during this last term. (Applause.)

The thing I want to emphasize in closing is that in the past, in thinking of the conditions in Germany and Austria, I have had the tendency to think that those things could happen there because the people were not as prepared and they were not as wide awake as we are. I felt that we could profit from their experience, and that there was not really the great danger of a catastrophe in England, as in Germany and Austria. Now I no longer believe that. Now in spite of the fact that England has the oldest and most well-established trade union movement in the world, and in spite of the fact that England has some of the most politically alive students and other sections of the population, fascism is making heavy inroads in England.

In America you have two great advantages. You do not have the advantages of a well-established labor movement, nor of long experience.

The two advantages you do have are:

1. Much more enthusiasm. There is much more optimism, much more strength in democratic traditions.

2. You have more time, but you do not have much more time, and it is up to every one of you to use every second of that time, if you are to stop the advance of Fascism that is taking place in Europe.

I want to close by reminding you of the title of a book by Max Lerner. "*It is Later than You Think*".

Hood—The solidarity of the Americas is strikingly before us today. I now present the observer from Canada to this Convention. Mr. E. Carroll.

GREETINGS FROM CANADA

E. CARROLL—Mr. Chairman, Members of the American Student Union, Greetings from Canada. I feel it particularly appropriate to speak at this time, when the bond between Canada and the United States is closer than it has ever been before. Your President, Mr. Roosevelt, and our Prime Minister, Mr. King, both literally and figuratively, have built bridges across the border. They have shown by 4,000 miles of undefended frontier, that only between democracies can peace exist. (Applause.) It is our hope that the renewing, the tightening of this bond between Canada and the United States will lead to a greater interest in the part of Americans in Canadian affairs. I am quite sure that Americans do not have story-book notions of Canada, of men and women travelling in snowshoes.

It is not my intention here to give you a report of our activities in Canada. I would, however, mention that in proportion to the population of Canada, our movement is indeed a strong one. We have 15 clubs spread throughout Canada. We call them the "Social Problems Clubs." These clubs' aims are almost the same as those of the ASU. Our aim is Democracy and Peace. We have worked a great deal toward our goal, and yet we have received no open opposition from the more reactionary elements in Canada. Our campaign has been so strong and so well based on reason, that no serious opposition has been possible.

There is another feature of Canadian life from

which perhaps Americans can learn. Were we to hold a rally such as held at the Hippodrome last night, we would undoubtedly receive the support of labor. We would receive not two messages from two great labor leaders; we would receive but one message from a united labor front. (Applause).

I feel that some ideas of the reactions of us who are outsiders in the ASU may be interesting to the delegates present here. In giving our reactions I feel that we cannot begin in any other way than paying the highest tribute to your National Secretary, Joe Lash. His two addresses which we have heard have been a great inspiration to us. They made us realize certain conditions of the student movement which will help us in our work in Canada.

We were particularly struck with the force of the student movement in the United States as

shown in this convention. There is a danger that a great organization which works for democracy might itself become undemocratic. This is not the case with the A. S. U. It practices what it preaches.

The support which the ASU is receiving in America, the size, the vastness of the ASU; the support of the President and the Mayor of this city, which has been attained by the work of the ASU, has made us realize that if American democracy is in the hands of people like the ASU it is indeed in excellent hands. You have given us an inspiring message to take back to Canada. It will aid us in our work. We wish to return next year not only to give news of increased activity and greater success in Canada, but we also hope to return to a United States in which democracy has moved so far forward that it leaves no room for those forces that would wreck civilization.

What Youth Can Do to Strengthen Democracy

**MRS. THOMAS F.
McALLISTER,**

League of Women
Voters.

Chairman, Women's
Division, Democratic
National Committee



I deeply appreciate the opportunity of speaking to you today and of discussing American youth and democracy. The fact that students from high schools and colleges have come from all parts of the nation for a three-day convention to discuss social and economic problems, with the objective of making democracy work, is an emphatic and encouraging proof that the United States of America is a dynamic and free nation.

The questions which face youth today are the questions which face all of the citizens of this country. What kind of a life are we going to have in America? Can we make American democracy meet the needs of our time? Can we provide equality of economic opportunity for those who toil on the farms as well as those who toil in forest, mine and factory?

History does not depend upon luck. And our future does not depend upon blind chance. The destiny of our nation can be shaped by thought, and by continuous and united effort. Vague abstractions are not enough. For

our future as a nation we need to take affirmative action and to champion concrete proposals and a legislative program for meeting the needs of the people. We need to campaign for democracy.

President Roosevelt said speaking a short time ago to the students of the University of North Carolina: "What America does or fails to do in the next few years has a far greater bearing and influence on the history of the human race for centuries to come than most of us who are here today can ever conceive . . . What I would emphasize is the maintenance of successful democracy at home . . . That is why the younger generation means so much in our current affairs. They are part of the picture in their twenties without having to wait until they have passed middle age."

The fight of our day is over the meaning of democracy and the struggle for its preservation. There is no standing still in life, government or history. It used to be that the life of our nation centered upon the structure of government; today, it centers upon the operation of society itself, of which government is only the instrument. And from a liberal point of view, Democratic government, as an instrument of society, must be progressive. What do we mean by progressive government? We mean a government enacting laws in the interest of all of the people — instead of laws for special interests. We mean a government insuring not only political equality but economic opportunity as well. We mean a government whose objective is the security and well-being of all of the people.

What are the proper aims and obligations of government? Thomas Jefferson said: "The equal rights of man and the happiness of every individual are the only legitimate objects of government." While the object of government remains the same, the changing conditions of 150 years in the life of our nation have raised new and complicated problems. The great task before us, it seems to me, is to preserve the aims of those who fought to give us freedom and to solve these new problems that face us by effective, enlightened and humane methods.

One of the greatest of these problems was anticipated

by leaders in our nation many years ago. Daniel Webster, in 1820, pointed out that — "The freest government, if it could exist, would not be long acceptable, if the tendency of the laws were to create a rapid accumulation of property in few hands, and to render the great mass of the population dependent and penniless." The issue which Webster envisaged is now drawn in the United States. James Russell Lowell foresaw it sixty years ago when he said: "Far-seeing men count the increasing power of wealth and its combinations as one of the chief dangers with which the institutions of the United States are threatened in the not distant future."

CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER

The rise of the corporation and the concentration of economic power has left the people of this country with little control over their economic destiny. In 1930, 200 non-financial corporations controlled approximately 50 percent of the corporate wealth of this country. In other words, 2,000 individuals out of a population of 127 million are in a position to control and direct half of industry.

The publication recently of the report of the National Resources Committee further revealed the inequalities in the distribution of income in our country. It revealed that the average income of one-third of our nation is the unbelievably small amount of \$471 a year. You may say — yes, that is unfortunate, but that is the poorest third of our people. What about the middle third? The income of the middle third averaged only \$1,076 a year per family.

How many of these people can enjoy the blessings of our country? What Democracy is there — what equality of opportunity — for their children?

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

The danger to our form of government lies in not giving to the majority of our citizens their fair share of our national income. The final test in making Democracy work is whether we can provide enough for those who have too little. Although our Constitution guarantees all citizens equal political rights, it cannot be said that they have equal economic rights, when 65 percent of them have incomes of less than \$1,500.

We know that equality of individual ability has never existed and never will, but equality of opportunity must be achieved, and in this effort we need to enlist the forces of youth. The political democracy which we gained was not to be in itself the end it was only the means to a greater end — social and economic democracy. Our country is passing through a period which is urgently in need of those who will fight for the rights of the common man.

Let me state as a challenge to the vision and ingenuity of youth, the following problem: The other day, a clergyman said to a small boy: "Why are you on the street this frosty morning without shoes?" The boy answered: "I have no shoes." The clergyman turned to the boy's mother and asked: "Why is your son on the street without shoes?" The mother replied: "We have no money to buy shoes!" Then asked the clergyman: "Why have you no money?" The mother replied: "Because my husband who was working at the shoe factory was laid off because there were too many shoes that they could not sell."

The effort must go on — day in and day out — to solve the problem of want in the midst of plenty, to

raise our standards of living.

We are today witnessing the spectacle of many nations abandoning a democratic form of government for one of dictatorship. As a result of recent events in Europe, there are some citizens of the United States that either fear or hope for a similar change in our government. They say that democracy has failed. They point to European countries as leading the way. Is that the next step whether we wish it or not? We have an answer in our own history. To recall the founding of our country should be a sufficient repudiation of such a proposal. We remember that in 1776 at the birth of this new nation, there was not a government in the world that was not opposed to the idea of our Republic. There was not a nation that did not look upon a democratic form of government as an abomination — as a peril to decency and established order — to government, to morals, to religion, — as a challenge to civilization. In a world then dominated by divine right kings, by autocrats, and tyrants, our young nation courageously took its place. They were only colonists and frontiersmen and traders — they had no material resources to encourage them to oppose the mightiest nations of the world. They had no military experience and their ideas of government were looked upon as dangerous to society. And yet they established in those coastal colonies a government dedicated to freedom — freedom of speech and freedom of worship, founded to promote the general welfare with no distinction of rank or condition.

When our nation was founded amid such perils and dangers for such humane and democratic purposes, who is there to tell us that we must repudiate the things for which our forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor — that we must desert their ideals at a time when barbarism is again falling like night over countries in Europe — countries that never did have a real democracy.

YOUTH DOES NOT FEAR REACTION

The youth of this nation does not fear the nightmares of reaction. We remember that the men who fought at Concord and Lexington were the young men of that day, that the men who signed the Declaration of Independence were young men of a young America. We are warned to go back to the founding fathers for men of wisdom and discretion, and when we do go back, we find that James Madison, the father of the Constitution, was only 36 years old when he signed it; that John Randolph, of Virginia, a signer of the Constitution was only 34 years old. Other signers, McHenry of Maryland, 33 years old; Lansing, of New York, 33; Pease of Massachusetts, 32; Patterson, of New Jersey, 32; Davies of North Carolina, 31; Pinckney of South Carolina, 29; Spaight of North Carolina, 29; Mercer, of Maryland, 28; Dayton, of New Jersey, 26 years of age. They were the fathers of the Constitution. In fact the average age of all the men who drafted our Constitution was 40 years, and Thomas Jefferson was only 33 years old when he wrote the Declaration of Independence.

Just as the youth of America 150 years ago carried on their battles against overwhelming odds to make democracy a living thing, so today must the youth of the nation, recapturing the spirit of that earlier day, enlist in another fight in order that democracy shall not perish.

What are the threats to our democratic form of government? Today they come not alone from dictators

beyond the seas who have substituted force for freedom, but from the more secret and concealed forces within our own borders — forces which masquerade as champions of our form of government and defenders of the American system.

In the past few years we have experienced organized attacks upon every liberal proposal in government by enormous machines of privately subsidized propaganda, by newspapers, magazines, radio, pamphlets and letters in the mail. We have seen authors secretly subsidized by the Republic Steel Corporation to write against organized labor. We have seen a former college president drawing down \$25,000 a year as an editor of a farm paper, distributed free to 2,000,000 farm families, to sabotage legislation and thwart the will of the majority, although such a salary was paid by those who had lost a million dollars in three years of operating the journal. We have seen the real nature of propaganda groups revealed by congressional investigation — organizations masquerading under patriotic and high-sounding names, such as the Sentinels of the Republic, organized to fight all progressive legislation; the National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government with a mailing list of 1,200,000, a leader in the campaign of misrepresentation against the proposal for the reorganization of the executive branch of the government; the Crusaders, The American Patriots, the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, and the American Taxpayers League. This latter organization, although organized to defeat a corporate income tax and to promote the sales tax, extended its efforts to a wide-spread campaign to stop expenditures for relief. And those organizations are all financed by practically the same persons.

ANTI-LIBERAL PROPAGANDA

These are only a few of the multitude of anti-liberal propaganda groups which confuse and mislead the people. It has come to the point that whenever one hears of an organization with the words "Liberty" — "Constitution" — or "Americanism" — in its title, one can be sure it means a million dollars of anti-Roosevelt and anti-liberal propaganda.

If we are to strengthen Democracy, we must combat such propaganda lest it be mistaken by our representatives in government for the sentiment of the majority. Because the strength of a Democracy lies in public opinion, it is our duty to create an informed public opinion, based on facts, not abstractions, on truth, not propaganda, on public interest, not on special privilege.

The teaching of economics in our schools and colleges too long has been a system of mysticism and metaphysics. The teaching of politics too often has stressed merely the structure of government rather than the social and economic problems with which it is faced. We must have a program of education in the problems of democracy. The American Student Union can be a potent agency in making such a program a reality. If the schools and colleges will not give it to us, we must look elsewhere. And in order to *know the truth*, there must be exchange of opinion and common counsel. We must make it possible for the people to organize themselves in public forums for the discussion of the problems and tasks inherent in democracy — forums such as you are holding in this three day convention.

Not only through forums can you secure knowledge and facts about our government, but also by making a

survey of conditions in your own community — a study of housing, of the opportunities for recreation, of the facilities for the protection of health. The Student Unions already conducting such surveys are doing much to make our schools and colleges a fortress of democracy. As Mrs. Roosevelt has pointed out — "The better you know your own community, the better you are going to be able to understand the problems facing other communities, the state and the nation." For citizens cannot hope to correct things that are wrong unless they know those conditions and needs.

It is strange that a plain fact of transcendent importance is often overlooked by the most enlightened of our citizens. It is only through political action that policies of government are formed — that laws are enacted, that abuses are corrected, and the future of our country's progress is shaped. The chief duty of a citizen in a democracy is to take a part in the government of state and nation — to take part in politics.

Political action in the United States is made possible by political parties. Parties are the instruments through which are achieved the ideals of our citizens. The most direct way to action in government is through a political party. There can be no effective expression of public opinion without a political party.

YOUTH CAN SHAPE POLICIES

It is within the power of the youth of America, to develop and shape the direction, the policies, the program of the party with which they affiliate themselves.

Too often, citizens of high ideals, leaders in progressive and liberal thought ignore the stark and simple fact, that political effort is wasted and ineffectual, that their devotion to the public interest is fruitless, unless it is translated into action by a political party organization. It is only through political machinery that we can bring about a better economic order for all our citizens.

And so I would encourage every member of this convention and every member of the Student Union represented by you, to become a member of a political party — to enter into the organization of that party — and to use your mind and strength and effort to make that party responsive to the needs of the nation and the general welfare. I would adjure you to join a party, not for a sentimental reason, not as a mere gesture of discontent or protest, but as a practical matter, to carry out a purpose — a party that has strength and force, with a sense of immediacy, and the power to be effective.

NEW SIGNIFICANCE TO POLITICS

Politics today has taken on a new significance. Who would have thought 20 years ago, or even 10 years ago, that an educational program for the study of our democratic form of government, would be one of the main activities of a political party? And yet, through the efforts of the Democratic women of the nation, there have been formed 2,000 discussion groups in one-third of the counties of the United States, open to all persons interested in the functions and accomplishments of government, and in public affairs, to enable citizens to seek the truth and a wise application of the truth. The participants in these study groups have been informing themselves on the problems of their community and the part that the Federal and State and County governments play in solving those problems. They have been discussing such questions as — "How can a decent

standard of living be secured American families?" "What is the responsibility of government to provide adequate housing?" "How can youth be assured a chance for education, for training, and a job?" Having once informed themselves, these Reporters on government disseminate information in the various groups to which they belong. By joining these discussion groups, or forming such a group where none exists, youth can spread a wider understanding of its own problems and at the same time do much to dissipate false propaganda that undermines confidence in our institutions.

Never in the history of our country has more been done for the youth of America by the federal government than during the past five years. Yet there is an organized effort to make youth discontented by giving the impression that youth is abused and forgotten by the government — by vague promises to do more for youth — and this from the same sources that call for a cessation of all spending — they'll do more for youth — they'll do it better — and it won't cost anything. They say they are for security for labor, but what did they do for labor when they had the chance? During the twenties, corporation dividends increased 278 percent, industrial profits 72 percent, but wages only increased 13 percent. They say they are for collective bargaining, but nothing was ever done to help the employee to deal with his employer until Franklin Roosevelt became President and workers rights, to which others had given only lip service, were enforced through the laws of the land.

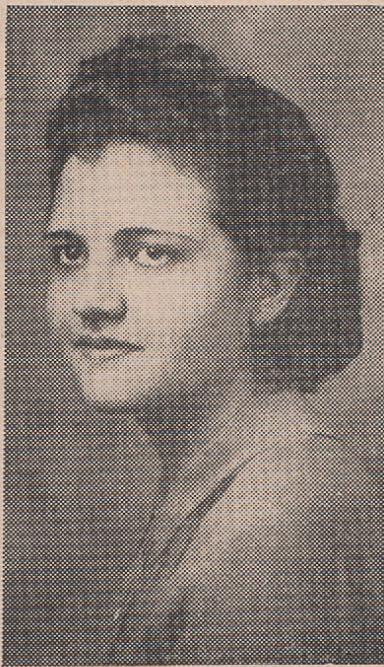
Whether we like it or not, we in a changing world.

An older generation has an instinctive fear of change. It is cautious. Minds and institutions that have developed and crystallized in conformity with a certain pattern of life not readily adjust themselves to a new pattern.

Youth does not fear change. It welcomes it. It asks questions and wants to know why things must be as they are. It has the courage and the good sense to disregard things that are outworn, institutions that have outlived their day, and by applying its native intelligence and energy, can encourage the use and development of new methods. Because youth brings to its task a zest for struggle, a new vision of truth, new conceptions of order and justice, unclouded and uncorrupted by long familiarity with distortions and slogans, it has an important contribution to make to the preservation and strengthening of our democracy.

Speaking to the youth of Maryland several years ago, President Roosevelt said: "You ought to thank God if, regardless of your years, you are young enough in spirit to dream dreams and see visions — dreams and visions about a greater and a finer America that is to be; if you are young enough in spirit to believe that poverty can be greatly lessened; that the disgrace of involuntary unemployment can be wiped out; that class hatreds can be done away with; that peace at home and abroad can be maintained; and that one day a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything we know, with those things — material and spiritual — that make man's life abundant. If that is the fashion of your dreaming, then I say: 'Hold fast to your dream, America needs it.'"

The America We Want to Live In



FRANCES JONES.

Bennett College,
National Committee,
A. S. U.

How OFTEN have we heard America referred to as "America, the land of the free"? How many other pretty phrases as "sweet land of liberty" have we heard used to describe America. Yet, that all of these are but prayerful wishes need not be pointed out, for, to see

it, we have but to look around us here in New York. We have but to notice the hundreds of unemployed, the slum areas, the fights being carried on by men for a mere existence. The very fact that we are here assembled in this American Student Union Convention is itself an indication that we are conscious of certain changes that must be made if we are to have the America we want to live in.

The America we want to live in is essentially an America that is democratic. By that we mean an America whose culture and opportunities flow freely to all groups and individuals. Such groups and individuals shall be able to take advantage of this culture and these opportunities to the extent that they desire and are capable. In the America we want to live in, wealth shall no longer be the criterion of a college education, prestige shall not be the admit card to vocational opportunities, and resigned silence shall not be the golden rule for success. There will no longer be the struggle of class against class. Such signs as "Gentiles only" and "White" above drinking fountains will no longer have significance.

We realize fully that in order to have this new America of which we speak, many difficult changes will have to be made. These will require time and sacrifice. Yet, they must be brought about, and we, as a progressive student organization, have a large part to play in this process.

Our contribution can best be made in the following four fields:

1. LABOR

We must realize in the A. S. U. that our interests as students are, to a great extent, identical to those of labor. This is true for two principal reasons. First, labor has identified itself as the champion of many of the rights for which we are fighting. Labor has taken the lead in working for the passage of many bills for more adequate education, better homes, improved health facilities, social insurance, old age pensions. Perhaps, several of the above named do not, offhand, appear to have any direct bearing on us as students. Yet, when we consider, as in the case of housing, the number of jobs that have been created for young people by the building projects; or, as in the case of old age pensions, the numbers of young people who, because of relief from the responsibility for the older members of the family, will be able to continue their education or go into fields of their own interest, we see clearly our gain by these measures. What is perhaps more important, we are able to see that the progress of labor means, to a very definite degree, our progress.

Second, we should have a special interest in labor because in our fight to maintain civil liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, we could have no stronger ally than labor. Were it not for this group constantly keeping vigilance, much of the freedom which we have today and take for granted would not exist.

Although we have, in the past, carried on certain activity in cooperation with labor, it has mainly been confined to giving clothes and money at the time of strikes, or having forums to which we invite members of the unions. This, we see, is not enough. Although the degree of cooperation possible between the worker and student varies according to the local situation, in all cases it is important that we, as far as possible, participate in the life of the worker—whether it be by aiding in worker education, participating in strikes, helping in the organization of workers, or through the recreational channel.

The wonderful opportunity that is ours in the field of student-worker cooperation was well illustrated yesterday in the telegrams from both William Green and John L. Lewis.

In our program for the coming year, we must place greater emphasis on labor. The conditions of the workers around our various campuses should be investigated and reports sent into National Office. Student-worker conferences and other forms of cooperation should be carried out wherever possible. By sincerely applying ourselves, we can make the coming year one of great success for both the student and the worker.

2. EDUCATION

Here is a field that is truly ours, yet not exclusively ours. In our activities here, we must continue to emphasize the fact that we believe that there should be educational opportunities for all those desiring and capable of receiving them. Today, to a greater extent than ever before, we must work for the passage of such bills as the Harrison-Fletcher Educational Bill. The youth pilgrimages to Washington, in which we have played an important part, must this year be even larger and more impressive.

More on educational issues, than on any other, are we able to unite the campus. For here, on the questions of N. Y. A., the Harrison-Fletcher Bill, and other educational measures, not only do students quickly respond, but administrations likewise often give support and aid.

3. INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

That a nation cannot exist half slave and half free is apparent to us all. That we cannot have an America in which one-tenth of the population occupies a caste position is also clear. But what is not so clear is how we can change this deplorable state of affairs.

The problem of racial discrimination and segregation in the North is important to a lesser degree, perhaps, than in the South. The fact that it is, nevertheless, important can be seen when we consider such reports as the survey made in Harlem recently which showed that one of the causes for the great unemployment of Negroes in white collar jobs was that the white workers, combed from our schools and colleges, objected to working beside Negroes.

In the South the problem is more apparent. That the entire life of the Negro and white student of the South is clouded by discrimination and segregation, can easily be understood. Moreover, of such vast importance is this problem to the Southern student, that many of the issues considered by the students of other parts of the country as of greatest importance tend to be crowded out before the need of the Southern student to move forward on the racial front.

The vast importance of this problem of segregation and discrimination has recently been very dramatically pointed out to us by Hitler in his statement to the effect that in treating the Jews as he did in Germany, he was only following the example set by the United States in the treatment of Negroes.

4. POLITICAL ACTION

This last great field of action is one in which we are as yet novices. Yet, it is one in which we are making rapid strides. For, politics, long thought to be the concern of big business and the underworld, is an area of life that belongs to all the people. In the legislative field we, as an organization, have made some advance. We do write letters, and we have been part of delegations to see our Senators and Representatives; but, we have not fully made the acquaintance of those who determine who the Senators and Representatives will be, and of those who, in most instances, say how they shall vote.

Some students have seen this. In New York, for an example, students worked for the American Labor Party candidates during the election. Also in Cambridge, the A. S. U. worked for the election of Thomas Eliot, a Progressive candidate.

All of this is a forecast of a field for which the A.S.U. in the next decade must become famous. House to house canvasses for the men we want elected, seeing that the people get to the polls on Election day, must be part of the program of each chapter of the A. S. U.

The America we want to live in is one that is truly democratic, an America whose culture and opportunities shall flow freely to all groups and individuals. In the above four fields, we must make our contribution to see that such an America does exist.

College Commissions: "THE AMERICA WE WANT TO LIVE IN"

POLITICAL ACTION

Chairman: WILLIAM CHAMBERS, *Harvard University*

"LABOR AND YOUTH IN POLITICS"

(Address by A. A. HARTWELL, *National Representative, Labor's Non-Partisan League, Washington, D. C.*)

IN OUR DEMOCRACY the political objectives of labor and those of youth, including students, are by and large inseparable. Two fundamental problems confronting youth—opportunity for employment and expanded educational opportunities—are and always have been primary concerns of labor since its earliest periods of organization. In fact, labor began forming associations for economic and political action, because experience showed that only by collective effort could the living standards of the people be raised through better employment opportunities and the right of education for all men be established.

Labor has been particularly concerned with making the rights of individuals equal through law. From the beginning labor has fought vigorously for a free educational system for all our people. More than one hundred years ago the Working Man's Party of New York bluntly issued its stand in behalf of equal educational opportunities for youth, rich and poor alike. I quote from two of its published statements:

"It is the members of this aristocracy who are desirous of closing up the fountains of knowledge and confining its free waters to the use only of those who were born in the lap of luxury. It is these men who oppose a general system of education, by which the children of the rich and the children of the poor would alike be enabled to enter life, equal in all respects, as far as men can be rendered equal, and the country be enabled to avail itself of those talents, which, under the present order of things, are often doomed, by want of culture. . ."

"We shall oppose the establishment of all exclusive privileges, all monopolies, and all exemptions of one class more than another from an equal share of the burdens of society; all of which, to whatever class or order of men they are extended, we consider highly anti-republican, oppressive and unjust. We consider it an exclusive privilege for one portion of the community to have the means of education to be acquired in those establishments. Our voice, therefore, shall be raised in favor of a system of education which shall be open to all, as in a real republic it should be."

Down through the years labor has constantly asserted this right to education for all. It recognizes that a democracy must educate its people for direct participation in its affairs. You may think that the quotation above is quaint, pertaining as it does to circumstances which obtained more than one hundred years ago, but, whatever progress we have made since 1830 when those conditions were noted, the job of making democracy in education work is still with us.

The American Youth Commission of the American Council of Education completed a study last Summer of the problems facing youth today in one of our eastern

states. Among its conclusions concerning the public school system of our country, the Commission said:

"It has been argued that a democracy can exist only among equals and that in every society hitherto the inevitable inequality between economic classes has nullified every democratic program.

"The facts in this study indicate that our present secondary school is still a highly selective institution adapted to the needs of a small portion of our population. The public schools of this country have been supported on the theory that they serve as an instrument for the maintenance of the equality of opportunity.

"In view of the very great inequalities in educational opportunity that exist at the present time, one may well question whether this end, is in fact, being accomplished. There is grave danger that the public school system, if present tendencies persist, may become a positive force in creating those very inequalities in the condition of men that it was designed to reduce."

LABOR SEEKS INCREASED EDUCATION

Just as labor in 1830 was seeking equal educational opportunities for the sons and daughters of our nation, we in 1938 are still engaged with the same purpose. We are still trying to make democracy work in the field of education after one hundred years.

The lesson which we must take from the above illustration applies in varying degrees to all aspects of our democracy. The democratic process is not static, absolute, a blueprint from which we can erect a house that will endure without change. We have seen from this hundred years' experience that the processes of democracy constantly demand safeguarding and broadening the rights of the people in the economic and political spheres of our changing, shifting, evolving industrial society. "Making democracy" never ceases and never will cease so long as we preserve the political opportunities for its continuance.

The program of your convention outlines the major considerations that are involved "in keeping democracy working by keeping it moving forward." Political action is one of your interests. In a larger sense, political action embraces all these problems since it provides the technics through which you can achieve some solution to them. You are discussing legislative programs on major issues that confront us today—educational and employment opportunities, civil liberties, social security, health and housing, labor's rights to collective bargaining, and peace.

Since in a democracy the will of the people is exerted toward a solution to these problems through legislation, you have, of necessity to be concerned with political action—what we Americans call "Politics."

Politics is that method—Mr. James Farley may call it a science—through which we elect our representatives to express our will in making and administering our laws. Politics must be, in a very real sense, the principle concern of those who live in a democracy. Unfortunately the word "politics" has fallen into such disrepute that an Englishman once remarked that America is the only place in the world where it is an epithet.

It is up to us to remove from it the bad reputé which it has achieved. We have allowed politics to fall into the hands of corrupt politicians and interests inimical to the democratic process. We have allowed them to take out of our own hands that instrument which is the life-blood of our society. Because of our indifference, apathy, even fear, they have been able to manipulate elections to thwart the peoples' will, so that democracy either functions superficially or no longer functions at all. A Frank Hague in New Jersey, a Tom Pendergast in Kansas City, a Tammany Hall, a Vare machine in Pennsylvania, has created a petty dictatorship which negates the democratic process even under its own guise.

OUR RELATIONSHIP TO POLITICS

In keeping democracy working, we must draw ourselves up sharply and consider our relationship to the political methods which are available under our democracy. The question that confronts us directly is—"Are we going to elect men and women to represent us in our cities, counties, states and the nation's capitol who will cast their votes and use their offices in behalf of the people's welfare?" This is a fundamental problem to which we cannot be indifferent. We must learn to play a responsible part in politics if we want to keep democracy working.

The second problem that confronts us is how to do the job. Clearly we must begin by awakening the determination of all the people to the necessity for doing it. The great masses of Americans in the mines and factories, on the farms, in our schools and universities, in the offices, those who keep our shops, must play an active part in the democratic process. Second, we must build an organization through which we can carry out our determination. Third, we must develop a program which deals specifically with the problems of each of these groups, and yet is broad enough to meet the needs of all the people. Lastly, with all of these instruments we must get to work now. We have no time to lose. Tomorrow will be too late.

In the past, labor has taken part in political action, either through the formation of its own parties, or in a great amorphous mass up-surge behind certain candidates or issues. Frequently these attempts, like that we mentioned above, the Working Man's Party of New York, were shortlived, narrowly confined to labor in membership, if not in objectives. Because they were not solidly organized, they did not endure, or because their program was not inclusive enough, they could not make a continuing and broad appeal.

Today labor in America has begun to organize a political instrument that can become the basis for uniting all the American people behind common objectives.

Labor's Non-Partisan League was formed in 1936 during the presidential campaign in order to give support to the reelection of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, not because he was a Democrat, but because for the first time in our recent history a man had been chosen leader by the people who took that trust seriously and inaugurated programs in behalf of the common welfare. The reactionary forces of America, both within and without the President's own party, had centered a vicious attack against the social and humanitarian legislation of the New Deal. Labor entered the 1936 campaign with the sole purpose of safeguarding

this legislation which was seriously jeopardized by such anti-democratic forces as the American Liberty League.

LEAGUE'S POLITICAL METHODS

A great majority of the American people, farmers, workers, professional people, even business men, were united behind this common purpose. In order to assure that every possible labor vote was cast for the President, Labor's Non-Partisan League organized in each of the 48 states. It used the methods that have become traditional in American political campaigns, meetings, radio talks, publicity, house to house canvassing, sound trucks, campaign buttons, placards, newspapers, special committees for women, foreign born, and other groups.

The entire labor movement in America participated in the great landslide victory for the President. But more important than the victory of a single man was the victory of the people in safe-guarding the program which had been inaugurated in their behalf.

Following this campaign, the organization of Labor's Non-Partisan League in every industrial state and city was undertaken in order to create a permanent organization for continuing action. Its leaders realized that attacks on vital social legislation had only just begun in the 1936 presidential campaign and subsequent events have borne them out.

The League has continued building its organization, spreading its influence across our country, taking an ever increasing part in the affairs of our nation. It has for its first principle the proposition that labor, and the people as a whole, have the right and duty of participating more actively in the councils of government.

Eleven days ago, John L. Lewis, Chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League, released a statement outlining plans for expanding the League in which he said, "It is essential that all the liberal and progressive forces of the country unite to maintain and extend the economic and political gains of recent years for the preservation of democracy."

THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION

In the Summer of 1939 the League will hold its Third National Convention. Delegates from League units from all the states, national labor organizations and delegates from cooperating progressive organizations of all kinds will participate. This convention will unite broad progressive groups in drafting a national program which can achieve wide support among the people and define the issues upon which candidates will receive their support.

The general outlines of the issues which should be brought to the attention of the nation through this convention were outlined by Mr. Lewis in his statement. The following seven points were recommended for consideration:

- I. The fundamental problem of employment and the inherent right of every American to a job. Unemployment is the malignant enemy of progress, social welfare and political stability. Employment and increased national income are prerequisite to the preservation of liberties Americans cherish.
- II. Economic security for the millions of Americans who are dispossessed, because of their ages, from substantial participation in the nation's internal

economy, and who are unable to find employment in modern industry. Competent maintenance of Americans so dispossessed would make this population group an economic asset, and utilize machine advantage and productivity to shorten the life period of gainful service in industry.

- III. Public health and industrial hygiene. To make available for every American adequate and competent medical care. Workers in industry are entitled to the protection of modern methods and devices so as to minimize the ravages of occupational accidents and disease, lengthen the lives of the workers and reduce the cost of production.
- IV. To enunciate policies designed to put America's production machinery in operation and to merchandize national commodity and crop surplus.
- V. To take cognizance of world events and the impact of world economic forces upon American life, and to protect Americans and sustain American institutions by an intelligent rejuvenation of our maladjusted and stagnated national economy.
- VI. Taxes. The budget balances itself when the nation goes to work. With attainment of adequate national income comes opportunity for reduced taxation, rationally adjusted to meet the country's requirements.
- VII. To resist the repeal or emasculating amendment of existing statutory enactments defining the rights of labor and safeguarding the welfare of the population.

LABOR CONSIDERS YOUTH

In proposing this broad program, labor is considering the needs of youth, Negro and white, labor and farm, city and country, but labor wants youth to raise its own voice in defining these issues as they apply to it. Youth should take its place in this coming convention and in the units which Labor's Non-Partisan League organizes throughout the country. It is up to you to make your voices heard.

Preliminary to the preparation of a program we should carefully watch the activities of the coming Congress. In the first place, the presidential election of 1940 will be only twelve months away and "politics" of the disreputable sort that we noted above will unquestionably play a major part in the attitude and actions of many Congressmen.

There will be 169 Republicans in the House of Representatives and 25 in the Senate as opposed to 80 Representatives and 10 Senators in the past Congress. They will still be a minority party. As such, they will probably continue the tactics of the past several years, though with increasing boldness. At the same time, we must not let them forget that most of these Republicans were elected on campaign promises that were even more "liberal" than those of many of the Democrats. Demagogic and false promises were given to old people, those who support the Townsend movement.

The increasing needs of the people and the inadequacy

of our present social security legislation, not only for old people, but in providing employment compensation benefits, sickness protection and other services, gave these Republicans ample opportunity for demagoguery. As "politicians" they reverted from baby kissing to bald-pate kissing, promising old people pension benefits which they obviously would not support in Congress unless the costs were somehow borne by the people themselves. On the other hand, they made few promises that are encouraging to youth and will do less than these promises if you are not vigilant. Already, some are talking of doing away with W.P.A. which would seriously cripple or destroy the National Youth Administration and other phases of assistance to youth.

No less vigilantly, we must watch those Democrats who are equally bent on destroying or crippling New Deal measures which have been instituted during the Roosevelt administration. If past experience is repeated, they no doubt will enter into coalition, either open or hidden, with the opposition members of the Republican party.

Labor and progressives generally, will be more watchful than ever in the face of these possibilities. There is serious danger that some of the major accomplishments of the New Deal will either be hamstrung or abrogated by insufficient appropriations or by amendments.

LABOR WATCHES CONGRESS

Labor and all who genuinely believe in democracy are faced with a vexatious problem in the notorious Dies Committee, created for the purpose of investigating un-American activities. The Committee will be seeking new appropriations and extension of its already vastly abused powers. The unmitigated demagoguery and vicious attacks which it has made on outstanding citizens in the government, in the ranks of labor and in other walks of life has reached a new low level in the history of Congressional Committees. The Committee has called witnesses, some of decidedly questionable fitness, who have made accusations, wholly unsubstantiated, and the committee, in turn has failed or refused to check these accusations. The chairman and some of the members of the Committee have demonstrated beyond any doubt their complete unfitness to serve the purpose for which the Committee was set up.

A major problem for labor, the people as a whole, and youth particularly, will appear early in this session of Congress when the question of additional W.P.A. appropriations comes up for action. The danger is great that the administration itself will not promote the W.P.A. program sufficiently, if we do not make it aware of the needs which millions are experiencing.

When the resolution on W.P.A. appropriations comes before the House and Senate, it will be interesting to tabulate the votes of those Republicans who shouted for broader social security legislation during the election campaign.

Of vital concern to labor and all those among youth who work for a living, will be attempts to amend, weaken or destroy the Wagner Labor Relations Act which establishes the rights of collective bargaining. The first test will come early in the session during the vote on confirmation of Donald W. Smith, National Labor Relations Board member.

On all of these issues and many others, the need for

action is clear. Your Convention here is already a strong expression on the part of youth, particularly students, in behalf of these important general legislative measures. In addition, youth will be watching its own special legislative problems that press for solution. These problems have emerged as basic concomitants of our industrial civilization. Resulting inequalities of opportunity have increased many fold.

Of 20,000,000 young people in America between the ages of 16 and 24, 5,000,000 are out of school and unemployed. Of 35,000,000 children under the age of 15, 13,000,000 are in families with less than \$800 a year total income or on relief. One-third of all our unemployed are youth between the ages of 16 and 24 and one-sixth of our population falls within these age limits.

For Negro youth, the problems are even greater. Although the percentage of Negroes to our total population is comparatively small, one out of every ten unemployed youths out of school is a Negro. In addition to the ordinary hardships which come with unemployment and lack of opportunity, these youths suffer manyfold more problems because their skin is not white. They, therefore, deserve your greater consideration.

It is up to you as students and youth to come forward with your solutions to all these problems. It is up to you to begin 'playing politics' to keep democracy moving forward. It is up to you to seek your place alongside your allies in the labor movement throughout our country.

DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL ACTION

Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, Chairman of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee:

Many young people have an abhorrence for "politics" as such, because of the repute of some past political activities, because of what they know of people who have used parties to advance their personal interests. However, young people should join a party and make that party conform to their principles. Through a political party youth can translate their ideals into action and can achieve these ideals.

The most effective place for political action is in the precinct, where educational work can be conducted among the people. Those interested in political work should start and join precinct clubs and organize discussion groups. For publicity, expound your program in the newspapers, and over the radio. Be practical in your activity.

Question: How is it possible for progressive students to work with the Young Democrats when everything is prearranged?

Mrs. McAllister: I cannot speak for Young Democrats, but the parent organization is very democratic.

Question: What is Labor's Non-Partisan League doing in creating real equality among men and women?

Mr. Hartwell: I cannot speak generally; each industry has its own problems.

Question: What is being done about legislation for students?

Mr. Hartwell: Youth has to bring these problems to the attention of Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Mrs. McAllister: Why not try to get a bill through your state legislature?

Question: How do young people actually work in party activities?

Mrs. McAllister: Through discussions and study groups.

If you wish any changes in a party, try to influence people who are going to party conventions.

Mr. Hartwell: Labor's Non-Partisan League is trying to change the structure of its organization in order to have a working membership, so that it can be sensitive to precinct opinions.

Motion: We endorse plank in last year's Vassar Convention that each chapter has the right to carry on political activity. ((Carried.))

Question: How do we choose candidates to support?

NYU: We should not choose candidates who cannot show strength and support.

Chicago: We should choose candidates not only for strength but because they are progressive.

Question: With whom do we cooperate?

U. of Chicago: We assisted Labor's Non-Partisan League and the local Democratic Party. We received educational information from these groups.

Smith: To interest girls in a local election, we formed local girls' clubs at Smith.

Howard Lee: In the South, we can only work with one party. But it is sometimes difficult to work with this party because of machine tactics. We can work best through non-partisan groups, through legislative conferences of labor, and youth. We support only those candidates of Democratic party who are progressive. I find a definite anti-political attitude on some campuses.

ORGANIZING ON THE CAMPUS

Question: How do we organize on the campus for political action?

Harvard: We have a Practical Politics committee in the ASU, which works all year. It sponsored a forum for parties to expound their program, and organized a broader committee to work for one candidate.

Question: How do we conduct actual campaigning?

Williams: We set up a "Johnson for Congressman Committee." It divided the work: house to house canvassing, a meeting at which candidates spoke, and real election day campaigning.

Lee: Put the candidates on record for youth. At Virginia, the ASU sent letters to alumni to vote for Dodd.

Question: What is the importance of Municipal Elections?

Answers: Municipal policies are the basis of national policies. Municipal elections set the tone for state action and finally national action. The issue in municipal elections has been human needs against "economy".

Question: How do you determine a State Legislative Program?

California: Our State Youth Act was accepted by the Young Democrats. The Act was drawn up by a Youth conference of various groups.

Massachusetts: We have a four point program.

a. For free state college.

b. For a State Youth Commission to investigate jobs, education.

c. Civil Service: Liberalizing the Veteran Preference Law.

d. Repeal of Teacher's Loyalty Oath.

We lent support to Housing Bill and other progressive legislation.

RESOLUTIONS

1. This panel recommends that every ASU chapter

establish as a standing committee, a Practical Politics committee to push suitable legislative programs, and work, where appropriate, in local and national elections and to educate and activate the campus politically.

2. American democracy is in jeopardy, threatened from within and without by fascist aggression against peace and culture, by reactionary aggression against human rights and progress.

Campus activity, in defense of American democracy, in re-awakening the spirit of democracy and loyalty to it, in guaranteeing the successful passage of such measures as will keep democracy moving forward by making it serve human needs, is not the concern of the ASU alone.

The movement to develop extended democratic co-operation within the educational community demonstrates that thousands upon thousands of other students are ready to accept responsibility on a broader front.

Therefore, this commission recommends to the Convention that we instruct the Program and Resolutions Committee to bring before the meeting on Friday a resolution to the following effect: A. Describing the precise nature which a National Student Assembly on these lines might take, and B. The role of the ASU in this Assembly, both before and after the Assembly meets.

3. Since the panel has voiced the need for legislative activity 365 days a year, be it resolved that a member be appointed to the National Staff to head work on legislative action, co-operation with other groups on legislative and political action, and to help guide chapter activity on this problem.
4. Resolved that the National Office attempt to get progressive youth measures in the programs of every or any political party.
5. Due to the fact that the ASU feels that the extension of cultural and educational facilities is necessary, we resolve to support on a national scale a bill on the pattern of the Five Arts Bill for the extension of Federal Arts, and theater projects, or federal arts bureaus.
6. Resolved that the ASU actively back the continuation and extension of federal, state, and municipal aid to public housing authorities established to provide living quarters for the income groups which comprise the lower third of the population, at cost within their reach.
7. Believing that it is an inherent right of American citizens to vote, and be given the right to participate in municipal government, and whereas in the District of Columbia the one-half million citizens have no such right, the ASU favors the granting of suffrage rights being extended to the District of Columbia.
8. Whereas there are four million youth between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, and over five million between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one not attending school, and whereas there are only twelve evening colleges and forty evening high-schools in the entire United States, and whereas no state appropriations are made for evening colleges and evening high-schools, and whereas the educational needs of these nine million youth can often best be supplied through evening session facilities, Be it resolved that the ASU through its chapters and District Offices immediately engage in vigorous action to secure leg-

islative appropriations for evening schools and evening colleges, and further that in communities where there are no evening education facilities ASU chapters undertake community organization for the establishment of such facilities.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

Chairman: SOL ROSNER, Temple U.

DISCUSSING THE QUESTION of Social Security, Mr. Abraham Epstein, Executive Secretary of the American Association for Social Security, declared that social insurance is not a panacea to cure all ills but the best mechanism for alleviating the evils which arise as a result of the loss of wages through unemployment, old age, sickness, etc. According to Mr. Epstein, the objectives of social insurance are as follows:

(1). To provide adequate protection for workers who are in greatest need of social protection as a result of industrial hazards. (2). To provide this protection in the most self-respecting and dignified manner. (3). To employ the social insurance device as a method of attaining a better balance in the national economy by distributing the cost of the insurance upon all elements in the community so as to increase the purchasing power of the workers and therefore enhance productivity and security in general.

DEFECTS IN PRESENT ACT

Analyzing the insurance provisions in the Social Security Act for old age and unemployment, Mr. Epstein found them defective from all the above three angles. He pointed out that the present old age insurance benefits will not provide the average worker with even a minimum of subsistence for practically a generation to come and that up to that time practically all workers without other resources will have to apply for supplementary, charitable or stigmatic relief. The same, he said, applies in the case of unemployment insurance where the benefits depend entirely upon previous earnings so that those who have earned least receive least, regardless of family needs, thus requiring all needy workers to supplement their insurance benefits with relief or charitable grants.

Mr. Epstein especially emphasized the dangers involved in the present financial structure which levies the cost entirely upon workers and employers, thereby decreasing the purchasing power of the masses. Stating that no social insurance program in the world avoids governmental help as much as ours, Mr. Epstein pointed out that a direct deduction of workers wages of course decreases workers' purchasing power, while an employers' tax on payrolls merely means an increase in prices which, in turn, means reduced purchasing power. Not only, Mr. Epstein declared, does the present financial insurance base provide for an equitable distribution of the cost among all elements of society — the rich as well as the poor — but to the extent that it seeks to establish full reserves in old age insurance and draws out more in unemployment insurance taxes than are paid out in benefits, to that extent workers' purchasing power is definitely reduced and insecurity aggravated.

Mr. Epstein pleaded for a factual re-examination of the insurance programs, a careful consideration of their economic implications and revision of the Act along sound lines of social insurance and the abolition of the present underlying concepts of private insurance which represent the chief defects in the program.

DISCUSSION ON SOCIAL SECURITY

After Mr. Epstein had answered a few questions, Mr. William Hood, Philadelphia District Secretary of the ASU, made a short report on what the ASU could do to help improve social security.

Mr. Hood: I agree with Mr. Epstein in what he considers to be the main objectives of social security. To improve the inadequacies of our present system, we should support the New Deal, and increase pressure for more adequate social insurance through the New Deal. It is the A.M.A. that has sabotaged Health Insurance, and present shortcomings are due to reactionary pressure against the New Deal. Only by support of the New Deal against such reactionary pressure can we extend social security.

The demagogic use of old age pensions by reactionaries themselves who are attacking most progressive legislation indicates the importance of this issue and the tremendous sentiment for it. Thus, in order to bring about generally improved social legislation, we must rally all progressives behind the New Deal, and press for improved social security.

By including groups now left out of the Social Security Act, we can help perfect the present legislation.

There is a need to win youth and student support for security legislation. In order to do this greater security must be granted to young people. I would propose a three point program for this purpose:

1. Pointing out that adequate old age pensions would be of benefit to youth by providing more openings for jobs for young people.
2. Passage of a bill granting young people a marriage bonus (this would be an important security measure and one that would win widespread support).
3. Support for an adequate measure prohibiting child labor.

Mr. Hood's report was put to a vote and was unanimously adopted by the commission.

NEGRO PROBLEMS

Chairman: JULIUS BELCHER, N. C. A. and T.

Address by DR. MAX YERGAN:

1. Background of the Negro People.

The present conditions of the Negro people may be explained by causes which do not vary greatly from causes which account for similar conditions among other large sections of mankind. In their most vital experiences and basic achievements fundamental similarities are to be observed in the history of Negroes and other large human groups. An examination of the African background of the American Negro will reveal these similarities.

Mankind in Africa not only faced natural and other circumstances common to mankind everywhere, but African man responded to his environment and developed in more or less the same manner as man elsewhere. The development of African culture is characterized by social institutions and other achievements which follow universally found patterns. Those patterns account for the following developments in the African past of the American Negro:

1. Political Systems—which function in the manner and for the purpose of political systems in general.
2. Rules of social relationship — which provide the basis for family, tribal and other forms of social development.

3. An established system of material economy with particular reference to the use of land and other natural resources.

4. The expression of artistic qualities of both aesthetic and utilitarian values.

5. Concepts of spiritual forces affecting both personnel and group life.

II. THE NEGRO CONTACT WITH AMERICA

The presence of the Negro people in America is to be explained by the historic materialistic expansion of Europe. The social conditions of Negroes, again following universal practices, were directly affected by the intensity of the materialistic drive. In other words, the economic factor is of more importance in explaining the development of present conditions of Negroes in America. For instance, the early status of Negroes in the American colonies differed strikingly from that of white indentured servants only in the understanding that Negro servitude was for life. When slavery produced greater profits for the slave-owners, the latter sought to find a more convincing justification for slavery. Subsequent attitudes on the part of both slave-owners and other whites in America grew to a considerable extent out of the argument that was set up in justification of slavery. It might be pointed out that it was the invention of the cotton gin along with other mechanical developments, which made the cotton industry more profitable, that accounted for the sharpened and harsher attitude towards the slave.

III. SOME FACTORS OF SLAVERY

There are today two factors which, growing out of slavery, have a vital effect upon the conditions of the Negro people.

1. A low economic status both with regard to actual positions of worth and effective use of labor power.

2. Racial prejudices in America which express themselves in various ways by way of violating the personality of Negroes both as individuals and as groups. It is to be observed that racial prejudices have been kept alive not primarily because of racial difficulties but as an effective means in the hands of oppressive and exploiting sections of the American population.

IV. NEGRO PARTICIPATION IN THE EFFORT FOR FREEDOM IN FACT

It was recognised at the close of and following the Civil War both by strong groups of Northern whites as well as by Negroes in the South that the basis of freedom in fact for Negroes depended on the following minimum:

1. Acquisition of land by Negroes as the beginning of an economic participation in the life of the country.
2. Full political rights for Negroes as the one means of preserving their economic status and of improving their social circumstances.
3. Full civil rights for Negroes, protected, if need be, by special legislation.

Negroes thus played a notable part in the effort to achieve the above as is witnessed by Negro participation in reconstruction governments in the South and by constructive results of the combined efforts of Negroes and the hitherto underprivileged whites.

V. SUCCESSFUL REACTION FOLLOWING RECONSTRUCTION

As a result of the unwillingness on the part of progressive forces to carry forward the task of freeing the Negro people in fact as begun by the reconstruction

group in Congress, aided by Negroes in the South, the latter began after 1875 to lose the rights which had been won as a result of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The main factors in this reactionary movement may be listed as follows:

1. Legal slavery having been overthrown resulting in the destruction of the national political power of the backward plantation owners, Northern industrial forces were no longer really interested in the development of the Negro people.

2. The laboring class in the North as well as the large middle class which constituted the bulk of the abolitionist movement were by successful propaganda separated from any sympathetic and effective relationship with the Negro population of the South. Further, a wedge was drawn between the Negroes and whites who should have been natural allies since both of these sections had been exploited by the former plantation owners.

It becomes clear that the present position of the Negro people in America is due primarily to the success of historic, reactionary selfish and undemocratic forces.

VI. THE PRESENT STRUGGLE OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

It is equally clear that the struggle of the Negro people in America is in every respect similar to the struggle of the great majority of Americans for the fullest possible form of democracy. There is a sense in which the effort of the Negro people must be made in terms of the racial status which tradition and history have set up in America. The racial struggle of Negroes must, however, be made only as a means to an end. That end can only be the completest integration of the Negro people into American life. To this end it becomes necessary for Negroes to strive as Negroes and, of course, as Americans for full political, economic and social equality within the framework of an ever-growing American democracy.

VII THE NEGRO STUDENT

As the struggle outlined above applies to the situation of Negro students, the objective should be the equal participation of Negro students in every phase of college life. Just as the denial of any rights to the Negro people in the body politic leads ultimately to the weakness of the rights of other sections of the population, so does denial of rights to Negro students weaken democratic development in centers of education. It, therefore, becomes the "selfish" duty of the entire college community to join in the effort to achieve and protect rights of Negroes to the full extent that non-Negro sections of any college community actually believe in democracy.

DISCUSSION

Brooklyn College—*George Black*:

Democracy is weakened when we allow Negro discrimination to exist. We must strive to bring the Negro into the general democratic movement. Discrimination was done away with at a skating rink near our school due to the combined pressure of ASU, Student Council, and various interested newspapers. Protecting the rights of the Negroes is the duty of the white students.

Howard—*Le Marquis de Jarmon*:

Evidences of reaction's attacks against Negroes are:

1. Dies Committee's attack on Negro education.
 2. Senator Bilbo's letter imputing legality to lynching.
- The ASU in the South should collaborate with the

Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Hunter—*Kathryn Harrison*:

The ASU should work for classes in Negro history. Steps should be taken in each individual school to tackle specific problems along these lines.

Georgia Tech:

At our University the progressive white students have attempted to hold joint meetings with Negro students. We are cooperating with the Y.

Ohio State:

The Negro problem should be carefully considered. Negro students should be involved in all fields of student activity.

Dr. Yergan:

The tasks are:

1. To unite the Negroes within and through their own organizations.
2. Simultaneously to seek the greatest possible integration with whole progressive movement.

City College—*Clint Oliver*:

The difficulties in getting a course in Negro History on the campus are many. The course is now a regular course in the curriculum at CCNY. This was done through the greatest possible cooperation of all interested groups. Negro students should be made to feel at home in the ASU.

U. of North Carolina—*John Cook*:

There is a need to re-educate the Southern white students who have received a consistent anti-Negro education.

U. of Illinois—*Jimmy Lawson*:

Four Negro students, in cooperation with the ASU, started suit against a restaurant owner because of discrimination. This case was lost because of a technicality, but it had quite an effect on the campus.

Ohio U.:

Our ASU is attempting to start a suit because of similar conditions.

Lawson—There is a need for perfect technical and legal check-up when a suit is being pressed.

The Civil Liberties Union is of great aid in cases of legal import around the issue of discrimination.

Dr. Yergan:

Local discrimination is part of a highly ramified system. This demands the greatest collaboration of forces within college and outside of college (unions, etc.).

Molly Yard:

Negro ASU'ers should be leaders in all phases of ASU activity.

Mark Hopkins, Ohio District Sec'y:

White students can be won to program that will help the Negro by showing them how it will help themselves. White students who are for Federal aid to Education and for progressive New Deal Congressmen can be shown that they need to cooperate with Negro students to get Federal aid and that Negroes must be allowed to vote if good men are to be put in office.

Ed Strong, Southern Negro Youth Congress:

Negro students will be won to the ASU to the degree that the ASU fights for their needs.

RESOLUTION

1. Whereas the majority of the Negroes are unable to obtain more than a smattering of education due to financial and economic status, Be it resolved that

We urge the creation of evening grade schools, high schools and colleges, throughout the U. S., particularly

in the South, to enable the Negroes to be in a better position to undertake the solution of political, economic and social problems.

2. Be it resolved that the ASU make a special effort to recruit Negro students and involve them in every part of the ASU program.

3. Be it resolved that the Negro problem be integrated with the whole problem of democracy through

- a. A program fighting segregation on the campus
- b. A program in the community

c. Incorporating in a progressive program for the coming elections legislation affecting labor, franchise, anti-lynching bill, etc.

4. Be it resolved that a strong effort be made to establish chapters in both Negro and white colleges in the South.

5. Be it resolved that the ASU have a tag day when the Negro Youth Congress meets in the South to help the Congress raise funds to continue its good work.

6. Be it resolved that the National Staff be instructed to form a committee composed of representatives of the ASU and Negro organizations to carry out educational work on this problem and to advise chapters in carrying out activities along these lines.

STATE OF THE PROFESSIONS

Chairman: SOL ROSNER, Temple U.

Address by RALPH HETZEL, JR.,

Unemployment Director, C. I. O.

You have asked me to discuss the state of the professions. I am not equipped to talk about the professions in detail. You have those here who are competent to do so. But I can tell you what organized labor's outlook on the matter is, and what we intend to do about it.

In the main we agree that the state of the professions is not so good. Otherwise we would not be here discussing them. No very real contribution has been made to the solution of the problem by those who are in the professions. Their only suggestion is to keep as many other people out as possible. That is not the answer.

Organized labor, however, is attacking this grave problem along two fronts. We have organized the professions into unions in order to uphold their high standards of skill and learning, and protect the working conditions of the individuals practicing them. The Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, the United Office and Professional Workers of America, the American Newspaper Guild and the American Federation of Teachers have made tremendous progress in protecting the members of their respective professions through the power of collective action.

LABOR AIDS THE PROFESSIONS

The second and more important attack is the economic one. The economic health of the professions is inextricably bound up in the general economic health of our nation and more especially in the economic health of the working people. By fighting to raise the general economic level of our people, therefore, we are directly aiding the professions.

Also, and more specifically, we are advocating that the Federal government assume as its definite responsibility the providing of many professional services, such as medical, dental and hospitalization care, decent, low-rent housing, cheap power, better and more widespread education, and so on, to those who cannot now afford them.

We urge the establishment, therefore, of a broad and adequate national health program. We urge the continuation and expansion of the Federal Arts program and of the WPA Education Projects, both adult and recreational. We advocate a permanent, unified and adequate public works program which would include low-rent, decent housing, a comprehensive program of forest and soil conservation, flood control and rural rehabilitation, and the many useful projects that are now being carried on under the WPA. Such a full program would not only provide many necessities of life to millions now deprived of them, but would provide useful work at their own professions for thousands of architects, engineers, chemists, teachers, artists, doctors, nurses, dentists, writers, economists and so on through the professions.

In speaking of what the government can do to help professions, mention must be made of what it is already doing through the NYA. Limited as the NYA has been in funds, it has been quite effective to some extent in equalizing the opportunity for professional education.

I have indicated very briefly the interest which organized labor bears in the welfare of the professions and the individuals engaged in them. I hope that I have shown you at the same time the need for close cooperation on your part with the aims, purposes and activities of organized labor.

DISCUSSION

Pre-Med. student: There are 77 United States approved medical schools and 9 Canadian. There is no overcrowding in the professions. The ASU chapters should continually show that professional services are needed and should protest the attempts to cut down the number of professionals in the country. The number of med schools is inadequate for the country at large. There is a particular need for schools in the south. There are a number of restrictions in med schools that make it very difficult for students to enter the profession: 1. race quotas, 2. financial difficulties, scarcity of scholarships, and lack of public medical schools, 3. many students are dropped from med schools after their sophomore and junior years, 4. political and economic pressure is exerted on students.

Harvard Architect: There is a great need for a change in the curriculum of professional schools.

NYU: Many professionals have an antagonistic attitude toward progressive movements. To counteract this, we might set up Pre-Professional Student Committees sponsored by the ASU to investigate professional problems.

M.I.T.: The paternalism of such concerns as Dupont and General Electric and their control over jobs lead students to conservatism by propaganda.

Brooklyn: The ASU should recommend that professionals join trade unions and become active in the labor movement. Why not organize campus conferences headed by leading professional people?

Cooper Union: We are planning a campaign to help students secure jobs after graduation.

Brooklyn: Let's organize support for Coffee-Pepper Bill.

Mr. Hetzel, C.I.O.: There are professional opportunities offered by the government.

1. Public health service for classes having no medical service, and industrial hygiene.
2. Public construction and expansion: architects, engineers, manual labor (WPA and PWA), and the establishment of a long range program for public

construction, with reasonable security.

3. Expansion of Conservation: TVA, CCC, foresters, hydraulic engineers.
4. The Report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education and the Harrison-Fletcher Bill propose the extension of Federal aid to deficient sections of the country for educational purposes.
5. The Federal Arts Bill would provide for expansion of Federal Theaters and Federal encouragement of the fine arts.

FEDERAL AID FAVORED

Bennington: We favor federal aid to artists who desire to be socially useful.

CCNY: Since recovery is a vital career problem for professionals, I would propose a resolution supporting all five of Mr. Hetzel's points.

Connecticut State College: There is a necessity for professional people to ally themselves with the farmers. This is especially true for the agricultural students. There should be a greater representation of agricultural groups in the ASU, and I feel that the ASU should extend its program to include agricultural students.

Mr. Hetzel. The closeness of the interests of labor and the farmers should mean increased cooperation between unions and granges.

U. of Penn.: Resolution that 1. the ASU program include an appeal to professional agricultural students through agricultural cooperatives, that 2. conferences be held with farm groups to aid in this program.

George Barnard of England: Workers who desire an education have too great a burden. Part of the remedy is reduction of working hours without reduction of pay.

Harvard. There should be Federal scholarships to aid professional students.

Antioch: The Antioch plan of cooperative working and studying plus federal scholarships would be a solution.

Hunter: We should work for free higher institutions.

CCNY: If students have to help support families, they cannot afford to take day courses. Therefore, the evening schools should be extended.

Columbia: New College of Teachers' College of Columbia has been discriminated against because of its program. We find discrimination against Jewish students against Negro students and against women students in the Universities. The ASU should 1. educate its own members to the extent of this discrimination, 2. show other campus groups the extent of discrimination, 3. press for the lifting of any quotas, 4. urge the government to establish schools on the basis of complete equality.

Temple: The ASU National Office should issue a questionnaire to determine the quotas in the various colleges, which should lead to publishing an account of discriminatory tactics.

Columbia: Married women who are professionally employed should not be forced to give up their jobs if their husbands are working, as is often the case.

RESOLUTIONS

I. Be it resolved that the ASU affirm its faith in the necessity of relying on the progressive labor movement for the best welfare of the professional groups; that the ASU reassert that higher education and the progressive labor movements are bound together.

II. Be it resolved that the ASU favor a plan to render

state financial aid to students planning to practice in the rural state areas.

III. Be it resolved that the ASU affirm its belief that, in view of the great need for professional services today, the professions are not, in general, overcrowded; that there is, therefore, no need to limit the enrollment in our professional schools; that there is a need for the Federal government to take such steps as will result in the distribution of these professional services to those who are in need of them.

Summation:

1. Equal opportunity is a basic problem for professionals. Such opportunities should be increased regardless of race, color, sex or creed.

2. The Federal government should increase NYA.

3. Professional workers should be permitted to work for common welfare. The nation will absorb these social workers because they are needed.

4. Specific legislation to increase professional opportunities should be strongly pushed.

5. The interests of professional workers are close to those of progressive, labor, and farm movements.

6. The ASU should use all means in its power to advance this professional program.

7. The ASU should support professional student organization.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Chairman: ELLEN HAYES, *Vassar*

Abstract of Remarks of ROGER N. BALDWIN, *Director of American Civil Liberties Union*

CAN DEMOCRACY SURVIVE?

If the United States is to retain its position as the last remaining bulwark of political democracy in a world threatened by Fascism, it can do so only by the new line-up of forces represented by the growing labor movement in alliance with the organized farmers. The survival of democracy here as in France and the remaining European democracies rests in large part on the political power of organized labor and its allies.

No fact of politics over the last fifty years is more significant than the rise of labor parties, reflecting the growth of organized labor. For the first time in the United States we are beginning to see the break-up of the old political parties and the emergence, as yet pretty sketchy, of political movements with the organized self interest of labor at their center.

The current attack throughout the world on these democratic and progressive forces as agencies of Communism is a confession of the fear of progress. For the privileged interests which control our economy are unwilling to yield their profits or power to the democratic process they profess to serve. Rather than yield, they embrace fascism.

Here in the United States they attack even the mild-reform measures of the New Deal, as inspired by Moscow. They pillory the defenders of American democratic liberties as the supporters of the Left. They ignore the non-partisan defense of civil rights, which demands equal treatment of all regardless of doctrine.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which I represent, has defended all-comers without distinction. If a larger proportion are radical, it is only because the forces of persecution choose them for us. If the con-

servatives were wise, which they rarely are, they should be the stoutest defenders of that process of peaceful democratic advance which alone can avert the resort to violence and civil war. But they so fear the uses of democracy that they resist even the inevitable public controls of business which characterize the New Deal, charging "dictatorship, regimentation and collectivism".

ROADS TO INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

But it is evident here, as in other countries, that rugged individualism is fast disappearing, replaced by public regulation of business, by governmental protection of labor's rights, and by experiments in the ownership of essential public services. These are the roads to industrial democracy.

No greater advances in the field of civil liberties have been made in years than were involved in the Supreme Court decision sustaining the National Labor Relations Act and the exposures by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee of the immense armaments of private industry directed to the destruction of trade unionism by force. Already a large part of the business community has accepted, though reluctantly, the inevitable organization of the great mass production industries, so long delayed by their opposition. Already the exposures of the Senate Committee have disarmed the employers who resorted to strikebreaking detective agencies, hired thugs, espionage, tear gas and machine guns. Force is giving way to the processes of law. Even the police and sheriffs, so long subservient to employers' interests, are yielding to the procedure of federal regulation, while the spirit of vigilante action that has dominated great strikes, the lawless methods of "law enforcement", is slowly giving way. Not in years have I seen so favorable a general situation in the industrial states for the recognition of those rights of labor now guaranteed by law. We may well be on the road to that stability in industry which collective bargaining alone guarantees, and which a country like England has known for years.

Despite the issue of communism, which still works as a "red herring" thrown across the trail of industrial strife to obscure the real issues, the attacks on the Communist Party now raise fewer issues than in years. The courts, on the whole, have recognized the rights

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DISCUSSION

SPEAKER—ROGER BALDWIN

Discussion centered about whether equal liberties could be given to all groups, democratic or non-democratic or whether certain limitations would have to be used in order to prevent undemocratic groups or organizations from spreading their propaganda.

Resolution followed that:

1. A course on analysis of propaganda be given in the schools (carried)
2. If such a course is not instituted by the schools, that the ASU undertake to carry out such a program (carried)

After a discussion of Nazi exchange students the following resolutions were proposed:

1. We allow exchange students from Germany to attend our colleges (defeated)
2. That the ASU send a resolution to the International Exchange, dealing with exchange students, that they select students more representative of the peoples of the democratic governments (carried). (This motion was introduced when it was pointed out that students with definite fascist tendencies were sent to America from such countries as Scandinavia and France, with popular front governments.)

Resolution introduced to support the activities of the La Follette Committee (carried)

Resolution that the ASU support the Anti-Lynching bill (carried)

Resolution that ASU advise each chapter and all members to request their Congressmen to vote against any new appropriation for the continuance of the Dies Committee. (carried)

Resolution that the right of the use of the press, assembly, right of organization and discussion of all problems of the educational community be permitted by the faculty and administration in high school and colleges. (carried)

In relation to the situation in Jersey City, the group went on record as favoring the removal of Mayor Hague as vice-president of the National Democratic Party. The group also went on record as condemning the suppression of civil liberties in Jersey City as carried on by Mayor Hague.

Body went on record as opposed to the poll tax in the South.

Democracy As Youth's Moral Code

COLLEGE PLENARY SESSION

Wednesday 8:30 P. M.

By DR. MAX LERNER, *Former Editor of The Nation, Assistant Professor at Williams College*

I BELIEVE the young generation of America is a moral generation, but morality to them is not a confused abstraction independent from the lives they are leading. Morality means for them the answer to the question, "What's all the shooting for." It is a structure for human values, worth living for, and if necessary, worth dying for. A generation that lives close to international danger, close to the struggle against social disintegration, close to the firing lines in the fight against imperialism—so close that it can smell the powder of battle—is not

a generation that will be content with the pious homilies that have been handed down. It is not a generation that can take its values for granted. It must rethink and test them afresh.

The core of youth's new moral code must be democracy—but a democracy redefined and given concrete meaning in relation to national and cultural survival. It is a democracy that includes the conception of civil and political liberties, but sees civil liberties not only as a defense of minorities against majorities, but as a defense also of majorities against predatory and ruthless minorities—civil liberties for all. It is a democracy that stresses the need for economic democracy if political institutions are to have a significant popular base—economic democracy that will convert the big cor-

porations from totalitarian empires into instruments for the national welfare, and make trade unions responsive to their rank and file membership. It is a democracy that includes the sense of the dignity of the human man, without which all pretensions about majority rule are hollow. It is a democracy that gives the common man access to education and information so that he will not become a ready dupe for minority adventurers.

CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY

Such a democracy can have meaning for American youth. Without it our youth will fall prey to an cynicism about politics which is the beginning of the end. I say that a culture whose young men and women are contemptuous of its political institutions and of its potentialities as a world force is a culture that will not survive. I cannot believe that will be true of American culture or of American democracy, but if we are to win out, the schools and universities must play their part. Every classroom in the nation must be converted into an outpost in the struggle for democracy.

Such a conception of democracy can be given life and meaning only by a steady movement of national advance toward a rational and planned economic system, by a militant nation willing to confront the imperialistic march of fascist power, and by efforts to create a humanistic culture not for the few, but for millions of individuals in the whole nation.

The fascist theorists have said that we cannot do it. They have hurled jibes at democracy, taunted us as being decadent and lacking fiber. Actually, as Thomas Mann has said, it is not democracy that is old, but dictatorship. Democracy is youthful, risky, experimental. It involves a more highly conscious collective effort than we have ever undertaken, and that will be the test of the whole American experience. That is why it has in it the stuff to appeal to the imagination of the young. The road is hard and perilous and we are fighting time. But a culture and a moral code that can appeal to the imagination of the young are sure in the end to win out.

QUESTIONS

Question: (to Dr. Niehbur) What do you think should be the use of force? What should be the attitude of youth toward the use of force?

Dr. Niehbur: All politics is not only an exercise in persuasion but a contest of power. A wise statesman is able to prevent covert force from becoming overt and violent. I assume there is no politics without the element of coercion. You can get humane cooperation in terms of rational coerciveness. I also believe that some time or other covert force becomes overt force. I do not say that anybody will have to fight for anything he doesn't believe in but it is quite impossible to say that it is ethical not to use force but to use persuasion. There is no moral distinction between the force of persuasion and physical coercion. The ethical test is the end for which you use these things.

Question: (to Dr. Lerner) In cases where we feel that the legislature is wrong—if we are in Germany and the majority of the people believe with Hitler, what would be the position of the minority. How must the minority act in that case? (restated) How should a minority behave in itself in a place like Nazi Germany in relation to the majority rule. Would he sing the

praises of democracy from the inside of a concentration camp?

Dr. Lerner: Obviously not. The existence of the camp negates the idea of a democracy, of the legal procedure under a majority government. In Germany I disagree with the major premise of the government. I don't believe that the German government represents the majority.

Even if it did represent the majority, I would not agree with majority rule there. If I could, I would revolt so long as there was a chance to revolt. And I think that chance would come.

Question: (to Dr. Lerner) In view of the fact that we should not have a fear complex, should we allow the Nazis to carry on their activities and accord them freedom of speech?

Dr. Lerner: We haven't reached the point yet where we ought to question the basic doctrines of freedom of speech. I think a point like that is reached in a crisis of democracies, at that point of civil war where you have actual clash within the nation between groups. To continue to have an obsession about civil liberties under those circumstances is to translate those civil liberties in a suicide imperative. I do not think we have reached anywhere near that point at the present time.

DEMORALIZE THE ENEMY

Once when Caesar was in camp, some of his men caught enemy spies and they brought those spies before Caesar and asked, "What shall we do with them?" He said how much they had seen and the answer was not very much. "Show them the works and then send them away". A consciousness of strength! If the enemy's spies could really see how strong they were, it would demoralize the enemy forces. I think you would lose more by suppressing them than you gain.

Once it becomes organized into brown shirt troops, philosophically I believe there is a basic distinction between persuasion and coercion. It seems to me this is necessary. As soon as they step over that boundary line, we should forget our fear complex and move affirmatively to suppress them and suppress their actions. At the present time, we should treat them as Caesar treated his spies.

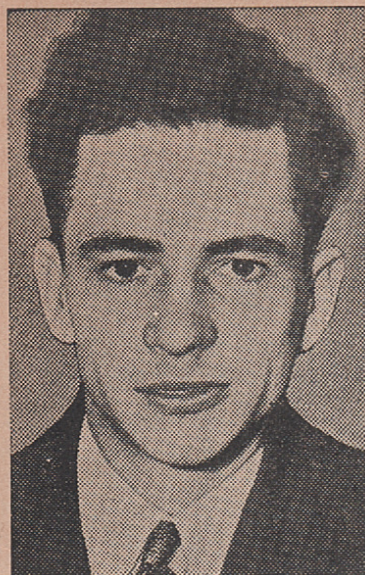
Question: (to Dr. Lerner) Why have the democracies been so slow in forming this necessary ring which should be put around the fascist countries and why, even after the Munich pact, are we still so slow? Why have the democracies been slow even now after Munich? Do you think they will speed up to form it?

Dr. Lerner: In a summary way, I should say that the primary reason why the democracies have been slow is that the government has been acting slowly in the democracies. Governments which have been acting slowly are governments that represent essentially the ruling class in England, France. I don't think that there could be any doubt that if there were in the French government an administration as democratic as the New Deal administration in America there would be no question on the possibility of forming a cordon-santaire around the fascist powers. It hasn't been due to democracies but to the reactionary rulers.

It becomes not only a struggle of foreign alignments but a struggle in each of these nations for power. Here it is a struggle to maintain the democratic power the administration has attained, but in England and France

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The America We Want to Live In: HIGH SCHOOL PLENARY SESSION



Wednesday,
December 28,
10:30 A. M.

JAMES B. CAREY,
Secretary of the
Congress of Industrial Organizations

STUDENTS AND LABOR

By James B. Carey

"It is customary to address the students with the familiar opening remark, 'You here are enjoying a great number of advantages that I did not have in my school days.' However, I'll get down to business.

I would like to speak in regard to something we feel is very serious. It is a question on the subject that you are considering this afternoon. Now I have prepared a somewhat heavy report. I would like to go over the report and the subject, giving some comment on what is said. I do sincerely hope that you will ask the questions that you really care to ask, and I'll assure you that my answers will be as frank as can be given to any group of people.

I recognize it is more important for the labor movement to carry on an educational program among the youth of America than it is to spend all of its time among those people employed at the present time. A lot of you have heard about the CIO. In the minds of some people it was a Canadian railroad or something else. We believe today every citizen of the United States knows the meaning of the CIO. They perhaps do not know what the three letters stand for, but they know it means an organized labor movement that is trying to get somewhere, a moving stream. It is a real honest-to-goodness labor movement that is trying to get somewhere and is trying to accomplish the program that you are considering today, "Make America a Better Place to Live In."

It is certainly looking towards the future to see that its program will somewhat be accomplished. Now, I don't know whether this report is important or necessary but it does incorporate a great deal of information that I believe is important to you.

I welcome this opportunity to discuss with you, the youth of America, this important question, "The America We Want To Live In".

It is largely because of the labor movement that edu-

cational facilities are being enjoyed today. A close study of the history of this country will indicate this fact, and I believe it is important that this fact be given proper recognition because it is in the labor movement, we find the people whose sons and daughters will be the future citizens of America. They should improve the present situation for people to come later. The organizations I have the honor to represent are looking forward to the future and not only the present.

We believe that labor organizations should begin by insisting upon better educational facilities. Young people will be the future citizens of this country. The American students can use the knowledge that they acquire in school in a practical manner to get employment in the fields in which they are trained. We are truly proud of our educational system, but thirty-five per cent of the children of America are unable to go to high school. We feel that a great part of this is due to the condition of continuous low wages, long hours, and poor working conditions.

The economic problems directly affect the students of this country and this directly affects the problems of this nation. Unemployment is in important question and should be considered by the people who are employed besides the ones who are unemployed and by every student. You should give some thought to what you will do after leaving school.

The schools of this country prepare the future members of organized labor, and they will determine in the future whether or not we will have a labor movement, and whether it will of the progressive type of which we have heard in this country.

When we think back, we see that one reason for which the A. F. of L. started on the down grade was that they opposed the youth. Their program was to retain what they had. Their thought was to work only for the interests of the members of that organization. They soon recognized that they must have the assistance and the aggressiveness of youth. I began my career as a youngster; I was a national officer at the age of 21, and at 22, I had the pleasure of being a general organizer of the AF of L.

C.I.O. STANDS FOR DEMOCRACY

The middle class of America recognized the C.I.O. as standing for the interests of Democracy. Another job we have today is to organize workers in all industries. We have to use our talents to achieve that program. We have people who oppose organized labor, and believe certain interests, would criticize the C.I.O. even though there may be nothing to criticize. The C.I.O. is trying to gain things for the people they represent.

Another thing to point out is that fifty per cent of the leaders of the C.I.O. are 30 years of age and less; in the A. F. of L. they are 65 or over. It is up to the youth of America to take an active part in the labor movement.

Should the people in industry have some voice in their welfare? Eliminate the unemployment question by giving jobs. January 26, 1 billion, 3 million, five hundred thousand people are threatened by the closing down of the WPA. We are asking Congress to appropriate 1 billion dollars to carry them on to July. There will be a lot of opposition, for example, the WPA is

unbalancing the budget. If Congress won't appropriate the money, 12 million people may think that maybe Hitler's doings are good because he put people to work.

You will recognize that the future organizations rest upon the youth of this country. We look to you for leadership. High school students should understand the program of organized labor and discuss other problems in their community. There is necessity for a working democracy in this country.

We all need a good legislative program. I feel that the program of the labor organizations should be your program. This is a program that is going to make America a better place to live in.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE SCHOOL

By BEN LICTASH, *President of General Organization
Benjamin Franklin High School*

AS WE EXAMINE the role the school plays in the community today, and that it played years ago, we see a great change. Today the school has become more aware of the needs of its community. This transformation is partly attributed to changing economic and social conditions which cannot help but affect the student, his work and needs.

The student who lives in a community which is economically on a lower level, will find that his education will be limited. His economic responsibility to his family retards his activities in school. The general atmosphere surrounding the school is likely to be one of hopelessness and defeat. Such attitudes must never exist in a school where future citizens receive education. Thus we see a decided need for work of the school to help the community solve the problems existing there.

We have always been taught to work with our classmates in school. This is not enough. We must extend this cooperation to the community. There is a necessity for such work. The school must provide contacts with the community. Whatever society needs to have done, it is the business of the school to train the young people who can help do it. In the words of Dr. Covello, Principal of Benjamin Franklin High School, in the book entitled, "The Community School", "The future is demanding something better than the school of the past has produced. Progress is challenging education in the name of human rights. The nation is calling for leadership and a citizenship qualified to sustain its democratic ideals."

"The community minded, community centered school can contribute to a restoration of communal living, in which neighborliness and mutual helpfulness shall contribute to progress, happiness and wholesome living."

Dr. Covello and the students of his school have accepted the challenge of today. The school participated in youth activities playing a very active part in American Youth Congress Model Legislature for New York. We sent representatives of our Student Congress to Washington during the American Youth Pilgrimage. A boy from our school presented before the Senate Committee the average economic case of an East Harlem Student.

Now let us examine a fine example in the realization of community-school cooperation. Before we do so, it is necessary to get acquainted with the conditions of the community where our school is located.

In East Harlem we find many discouraging statistics. We find that 70 per cent of the population is unemployed. This is a shocking amount. We see reasons and opportunities for great community work. Health conditions are very deplorable. This is due to the lack of good housing. This can be further enlarged by the statistics concerning health conditions. We find that in East Harlem there are twenty times more cases of venereal diseases than there are in other districts. Youth is affected severely and must help remedy it. Also, we have a number of different nationalities and un-naturalized dwellers. These people must be taught to work together for a common good. These people must be made into useful citizens. Lastly, there is a need for better housing. A vast majority of the homes are classified as slums. These slums constitute the base of all the poor health and recreational conditions.

All of these conditions sound quite discouraging. However, with the great work carried on by Dr. Covello, students, local legislators, and all clubs and social agencies, we are conquering these disadvantages.

In the Benjamin Franklin High School of New York City we have established a school with the idea of school-community cooperation. Since this school has been established, our principal, Dr. Covello, has attempted to make the school the community center. A system was established whereby teachers, prominent people in the community, dwellers, and a very important group-students, would cooperate for a better community.

PROGRAMS ON CITIZENSHIP

A Community Advisory Council was set up which is the central committee. A series of sub-committees which consist of a Housing Committee, Better clubs, Better Racial Understanding Committee, Citizenship Committee, Parent Educational Committee, and a Peace Committee have been set up in the School. These committees met and discussed plans for activities within the school and the community. Typical of the activities was the participation in programs in schools, social clubs, and religious places throughout the neighborhood on citizenship. Boys and teachers spoke on the necessity for citizenship. As a result, many unnaturalized people came to our school and took courses on citizenship. We have therefore helped hundreds of East Harlem dwellers to become citizens.

Community Club Centers were established around the school where students, children, adults, organizations, alumni groups, and different committees meet to carry on social and community functions. We have a Friends' and Neighbor's Club, a Research committee to gather statistics on the community and an alumni club called the Community Friendship Club of Benjamin Franklin High School. These centers are operated by the people in the community and students. These people helped form them and take care of them now.

At the present time, all our forces are concentrating in a big drive for slum clearance and new houses project. The people of East Harlem are demanding low cost rental housing. The students are playing a very active part in this campaign. By making posters, getting petitions signed, giving talks to many clubs and organizations in the community, we are doing our share. Through participation in mass meetings, we inspire the people to crusade for better housing.

These two activities are just two of the many activi-

ties carried on by our school. If you should visit our school in the afternoon or evening, you will find adults who have not received an education in their youth, receiving one now. They become more useful citizens. You will also find children playing in the school yards and using the school as the recreational center. Typical of the work carried on by our principal for the children in the community was the huge Christmas Party given for the children disregarding any differences in nationalities.

Now the question arises, what role does an A. S. U. chapter play in such an organization. Our chapter consists of students who take very seriously the responsibility of carrying through the fine community program encouraged by the school. The chapter has participated as much as possible to lead the student participation. The splendid work carried on by the boys in obtaining signatures for petitions for better housing, can be repeated in other schools. The fine work of the chapter in arousing the student sentiment for the lives of five East Side boys who were sentenced to die is also worthy of mention.

At one crucial moment in our community some racial disturbances called for specific action on the part of the A. S. U. chapter and student body. These occurrences had appeared before. However, a series of clashes occurred between the youth of two nationalities. Some claimed that political motives incited these clashes. Definite action had to be taken to remedy it. It was then that the A. S. U. and student body responded. At a mass meeting on the subject, two A. S. U.'ers spoke representing two nationalities in the school. Their appeal for unity inspired the people to settle their difficulties. The boys in the school asked their companions to discontinue their clashes. Soon the problem was settled and once more we had a united community working for East Harlem.

Such work, as has been outlined, can be carried on in all schools. American education calls for a more close bond between the school and community. Every school is a Community Center where the citizens may unite for improvements. I hope that at our Fifth National Convention, similar reports will be given. Let us return to our campuses and schools, and work for better school-community cooperation.

MAKING AMERICA HEALTHY

MILTON A. FEINBERG

*Field Secretary, Kips Bay-Yorkville
District Health Committee*

IT GIVES ME a great deal of pleasure to be present this morning and to be able to talk to such a representative group. Coming as you do from all parts of the country, you bring with you the enthusiasm that one associates with youth. The topic we are considering this morning and the one which I will discuss with you is "The America We Want to Live In."

Certainly the America in which you want to live will be a healthy America. There is no doubt that the youth of America, both of voting and non-voting age can help bring this about by knowing the facts about health as well as what causes sickness, etc. It is not necessary for you to be medical authorities to know these common facts but it is important that you be informed.

The previous speaker has indicated what is being

done in New York City in one district, East Harlem, to make the youth as well as the community at large conscious of the importance of such factors as housing, peace, relief and, certainly, health. You young people who will shortly form the voting citizenry of your respective communities should know what health problems exist within your immediate scope of activities and that is—in your high schools. The problem of the maintenance of the health of high school students is a very pressing one and one about which thorough investigation is being made in order to determine the most effective health protection program for high school students. Such an investigation is now being undertaken through the joint efforts of the Departments of Health and Education at Seward Park High School here in New York. This experimental demonstration will try to ascertain just how an efficient program can be mapped out so that all the students can benefit.

COOPERATE WITH HEALTH DEPARTMENT

It seems to me that it is necessary for your organization, the American Student Union, in its local chapters, whether it be in Los Angeles, Philadelphia or New York, to know what kind of health program for the students is in operation. You should seek to cooperate in all ways with the school administration in all its branches, including the Department of Health and Physical Education in the school. If you have succeeded, even in a small way, to educate your fellow-students in health matters and to work with the school authorities in working out the details of a program, you are paving the way to a better America because your local high school is a healthier place to be in and you are becoming aware of problems which you will have to settle as voters and taxpayers at a later date.

The previous speaker also mentioned among other things, the problem of syphilis as a youth problem and one in which his chapter had concerned itself. This is a significant step forward in the conquest of venereal disease, because syphilis is essentially a youth disease. Some months ago in the Kips Bay-Yorkville District an interested group of young people who were leaders of their respective organizations came together to work out plans for an educational drive against syphilis. They submitted their suggestion to an adult group of experts who approved them. The young people went ahead and assumed full charge of activities taking responsibility for such phases as speaking at meetings, arranging for publicity, setting up exhibits, raising money, etc. The taking of Wasserman tests as a part of physical examinations by as many young people as possible was stressed.

The young people came from churches, settlement houses, schools, political organizations, social clubs — every conceivable youth group was represented. They showed by their willingness to work on a specific problem that they wanted a better and healthier neighborhood to live in. This spirit is necessary and I pass it on to you as a model to follow in your search for the "America We Want to Live In."

HEALTH CENTERS SERVICE THE PEOPLE

The Department of Health of this city is interested in encouraging good relationships between the Department and the residents so that its work may be better understood and the cooperation of the citizens secured. To do this, the Department has instituted the plan of decentralizing health administration, and has divided

New York City into thirty districts, each with a population of approximately 250,000. These districts have health centers containing various health services such as clinics for dental work, tuberculosis, child care, maternal care and venereal disease. You will see a typical health center this afternoon when you visit the Kips Bay-Yorkville Health Center. As a further step in creating good-will and better understanding of the Health Department functions, the Committee on Neighborhood Health Development of the Department of Health is organizing citizen and professional social worker committees to give the department a strong right arm in the districts and to enable the community to know the Department better and visa versa. Five such district committees have been organized to date. The work by and for the young people in syphilis was done, as I mentioned before, in Kips Bay Yorkville under the auspices of the Subcommittee on Social Hygiene of the District Health Committee. In addition to the latter Subcommittee, there are also groups working on the problems of tuberculosis, school health, maternal and child care and health education. These Subcommittees are important adjuncts in the community health program and insure community interest and participation. It is interesting to note that as a result of the fine work done by the youth group in Social Hygiene, steps are being taken to have these young people go into the field of general health and interest them into the work done by the various subcommittees. This is quite important since it indicates that the responsible adults are recognizing the need for youth participation in health work and are taking this means of securing it.

In conclusion, I say to you, health is a basic element for consideration in devising a blueprint looking for a better America in which to live. Learn what health problems there are for youth to overcome and then ascertain what is being done by various agencies, including your school, your health department, your social agencies, etc. Cooperate and, if necessary, and with proper guidance initiate activities looking toward arousing consciousness of the importance of health in youth. Youth can do it. You have shown your interest in the needs and problems of youth by such an organization as the American Student Union and other youth groups. Make the most of your opportunities because in youth lies the hope of a better world.

DISCUSSION

Questions to Mr. Carey

Question: Would the resignation of William Green and John L. Lewis bring unity between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.

Answer: No, sir. No more than would the resignation of the leaders of the various faiths bring about unity in that field. The C.I.O. wants industrial organization in the mass industries where it is impossible to organize otherwise.

It isn't a question of Lewis or Green. It is a question of whether you want the labor movement to consist of all labor in all industries, or whether you want to get just the "cream of the crop" — the 10 per cent at the expense of the other 90 per cent.

The only way to eliminate that split is to have the labor movement build up and come together. For a

while it will be apart. But then, when the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. have to face certain common opponents, they will get together. They will come together through the force of the membership who desire unity.

Question: What is the C.I.O.'s stand on organizing those industries already unionized by the A. F. of L.?

Answer: The only way to answer that is to look at the record of the C.I.O. A few years ago people said the C.I.O. would destroy the A. F. of L. We felt it would help build it. The A. F. of L. membership has increased. The C.I.O. has a big enough job to do in the new modern industries that are not unionized and can be organized only through industrial organization.

Question: Did the withdrawal of the ILGWU from the A. F. of L. split the labor movement?

Answer: The C.I.O. proposed to the A. F. of L. that it open the ranks of labor and take everybody in — or — the C.I.O. open its ranks and take in the A. F. of L. Either way would serve the same purpose. The C.I.O. thought it would merely be an educational committee and was going to educate the officers and members of the A. F. of L. and the public of the importance of organizing workers on the industrial basis. Just as it was going to complete that program, the A. F. of L. suspended those organizations. The C. I. O. didn't pull out of the A. F. of L. They were thrown out. The C.I.O. made the first efforts for peace. They asked the A. F. of L. to meet with them. They did, but nothing came of it. They were going to take back those 10 original C.I.O. unions under the same charter. But the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the others had grown considerably since then, and going back to the A. F. of L. would mean that the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers would be split up into other unions according to the particular type of work they do. As an example, the Amalgamated could not continue their work to organize laundry workers. In order to readmit these ten C.I.O. unions, they would have to disorganize them.

Question to Mr. Feinberg

Question: (Evander Childs — N. Y.) What is your opinion of socialized medicine?
opinion of socialized medicine?"

Answer: That is troubling a great many people and will not be settled by any statement that I may make. There has just been completed in New York City hearings of the temporary committee looking for a statewide health program. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that eventually some kind of socialized medicine will come out of all the talk we are having today. We must realize that the issue is not whether we want socialized medicine, but what are the health needs of America today. Read the findings of the President's Inter-departmental Committee which held a conference in Washington and there you will find that the President's commission feels that some kind of change has to be made in the system of rendering medical aid to the people of America.

Due to the late hour, discussion was closed, and the plenary session ended.

TOUR TO THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN H. S. COMMUNITY CENTER

A GROUP OF 35 high school delegates from the fourth National Convention of the A. S. U. took the 3rd Ave. El.—with no mishaps—on Wednesday afternoon—and went up to 108th Street, to East Harlem—to visit the community centers which are connected with the Benjamin Franklin H. S.

The discussion was opened by introductions: the delegates had come from California, Boston, Philadelphia, New Jersey and the boroughs of New York. Benjamin Franklin boys and teachers, department heads and the principal were there to welcome them. The ASU'ers sang their Alma Mater, and the Franklinites, old and young, put their heads together and rendered their school song.

Mr. Leonard Covello, principal of the school, was introduced by Mr. Cohen, head of the Social Science department. Using maps and plans posted on the wall of the cozy club rooms in which we met, Mr. Covello reported on the surroundings and background of the school, and showed why a new thing—a Community School—was needed there. Besides studying algebra, biology, etc., he said, he wants his students to be prepared for life. Franklin is situated in a poor community, where 85 percent of the residents are unemployed. They are Negroes, Italians, Spaniards, Porto-Ricans, Jews; a false tradition tells them to hate each other... but together they face a common life of poverty, and are forced to live in crumbling ancient houses and suffer for lack of space to play. On the map we could see the ideal for which the community is mobilizing, a new low-cost housing project on the East River. It was made clear how badly this is needed—and how dangerous is the possibility that houses only for the rich might be built there.

CENTER OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITY

Benjamin Franklin seeks to be a "Community-School". It is organized in a way that will help the students and the community understand their citizenship, and work together to secure the things they need. The school is never closed: the Board of Education, the WPA together make full use of the building, providing a day school, evening school, recreation center, adult classes, Summer school. And students and teachers of the school work together in committees for racial understanding, for better housing, health and so on. Action as well as discussion is encouraged. Now the community turns toward the school as its center of activity, and the school seeks to provide study and recreation of value to the community. The community center in which we were sitting was an example of how "friends and neighbors" turned to the school.

Mr. Covello asked Mrs. Winter of the Friends and Neighbors club to describe how it came into being. In simple vivid phrases Mrs. Winter told of the desire on the part of the parents to get together—and of the fear they felt of the formidable school building. So quite naturally they came to want a club of their own. Then storekeepers, students, neighbors, the American Legion all pitched in... cleaned up a dirty store that had been offered them, and made a cozy meeting place open to all which is now the haven of many groups and clubs.

Joe Monserrat, a Franklin student, got up to describe

the work of Franklinites toward the housing project of which Mr. Covello had spoken. He said students all understood the need for this project, and were busy convincing their parents too. The school, as a focus for neighborhood activity, had already gathered 25,000 signatures on a petition to the Mayor for the project!

Two boys then spoke of the work of the school for racial understanding: Martin Hochsdorf, a German refugee, and Salvador Tomas, a Negro boy. Students and teachers of Franklin have organized classes for adults on this topic; Mr. Covello is "constantly speaking at assemblies" to arouse the interest of students in these problems. When a "Race Riot", so called, did take place in the neighborhood the Franklin boys were out in front fighting its effects, speaking at meetings on the need of understanding and working together to make the neighborhood a better place to live in.

CONSIDER DESIRES OF PEOPLE

In the old days before there had been a community plan in the high school in East Harlem, the children in the neighborhood used to make a regular practice of breaking its windows. They resented one school, because it epitomized the authority which always seemed against them. When Mr. Covello arrived, his first act was to start and win a campaign to make 108th Street a play street and the young people found that they were welcome in the school and in the several stores which have sprung up as school-community centers around the school. Now they guard those windows zealously. This little story seemed to us to typify the deep love and understanding of people — their needs and interests—which runs deep through Benjamin Franklin High School. The wants and desires of the young people—of the neighbors—are it first consideration, and the people themselves are helped to organize to get their desires.

The ASU'ers from the Convention, the teachers and students of Franklin drank coffee, munched cookies together, asked each other many questions, had a good old-fashioned community sing and felt full of the love of humanity and the understanding of the great good that students can do when they work with and for their community. The delegates expressed a real appreciation and a driving inspiration to follow this example and make community schools all over the country.

HIGH SCHOOL HEALTH TOUR

TWENTY-FIVE HIGH SCHOOL students from New York, Boston and Philadelphia went on the tour to see the East Harlem Health Center during the Convention. The Center is located in lower Harlem in the Portuguese neighborhood—a spot in the city where the facilities of a health center are most needed.

When the group arrived it went upstairs to a conference room where the students were allowed to take copies of the literature available for distribution there. The literature included information on child care and feeding, venereal disease, tuberculosis etc. written in three languages.

Dr. Sophie Rabinoff, the Health Director of the Center discussed the function, problems and mechanics of the Center with the group. She stressed the need for cooperation with the center on the part of the schools, the church groups and the welfare agencies. Dr. Rabinoff explained that this center was part of a plan which includes the erection of centers similar to this one

throughout the sore spots of the city. The function of the Center, she explained, was preventive. Although some curative work is done (dentistry) the center tries to keep families in the neighborhood healthy rather than to cure them when they become ill. This latter is taken care of by the hospitals. Educational work is done in cooperation with the schools. Some classes are taught in preventive health. There is a well-baby clinic. Every attempt is made to reach all of the population in the neighborhood. This is done through the schools and through visiting agencies. Last year about 75 percent of the people in the neighborhood had made use of the clinic. The doctors have learned to speak Spanish, so that their patients can understand them more readily. For a time the Center had special classes in Spanish for the staff.

The ASU group asked many interesting questions. One of the students wanted to know how to establish a health center in his neighborhood, and when the organizational details were explained by Dr. Rabinoff, he commented that she would be a good ASU organizer, because the mechanics of establishing either were pretty much the same! The group realized then that there was a basic unity underlying all work done for progressive legislation and progressive action.

The head nurse took the group through the building. Although none of the clinics were in session the group was able to see the extent of the facilities offered by the Center. They saw the baby clinic, the luetic clinics and the dental clinic. The group was most enthusiastic about the four well equipped chairs in the dental clinic.

The students were taken up to the roof where a playground and equipment are provided. Children in the neighborhood may use it at any time, and classes are brought to it during the day from the schools. A supervisor for pre-school children organizes groups for recreation on the roof.

The group left knowing more clearly the health needs of the community and how these needs are inter-related with housing and other social needs. The out of town delegates had seen the beginning of preventive health care practiced on a community wide scale, something which is being done nowhere else, and the need for similar work in their own communities was realized. The New York delegates saw the need for working for the accomplishment of the rest of the plan to provide health centers all over New York City as soon as possible, with an extension of facilities offered.

THE VISIT TO THE FEDERAL HOUSING PROJECT IN HARLEM

At two o'clock on the second day of the Fourth Annual ASU Convention, a group of delegates from Philadelphia, Detroit, Boston and Brooklyn, led by a high school teacher, visited the Harlem Federal Housing Project.

An interesting trip uptown on the Fifth Avenue bus gave the out-of-towners a chance to see some of the "sights" of the city: the Empire State Building, Radio City, the famous Fifth Avenue shops.

However, it was the housing project itself that delighted the entire group much more than the other more famous accomplishments of which New York City boasts. For this government sponsored community which develops good citizens and healthy people in contrast to the filth, disease and crime of the immediately surrounding area is far more important than the

skyscrapers and fine entertainment for which New York City is noted.

The first impression you receive when you approach the project is that of space and light. The buildings are grouped around a very large courtyard. You contrast this with the slums from which most of these people come, the slums with their lack of air and sunlight.

You see little children playing with a football and you picture them formerly hanging around the streets or playing in the gutter.

You pass a workroom where older boys are building ship-models or a library where the boys and girls are reading. You think again of the pool rooms, the dark halls.

LOW RENTAL

You walk into one of the few unfurnished flats. You find it well-lighted, well-aired, equipped with the best of modern plumbing. You ask the price—seven dollars a room per month, slightly less than the average rental in the Harlem slums. Rental for Negroes is high.

You recall the malicious story told of the Negro who could not imagine what to use the bathtub for, since it was not needed for keeping coal in. You ask your guide how well the apartments are kept.

"Beautifully", she replies. "The community spirit is such that each woman wants to outdo the other in keeping her house cleaner and prettier than her neighbor's".

Do these housing projects pay?

In the club room of the community, used for W.P.A. classes in the various domestic arts such as knitting and crocheting, and is also available for meetings. Some startling statistics were revealed.

The Harlem project houses four thousand people. New York City has two other projects: one in Williamsburgh, the largest in the world, that houses six thousand, and one in Red Hook that houses four thousand.

The funds for these buildings are one-half government appropriations and will pay for itself and the government will own the property completely.

The Harlem project has been operating for one year now, and that is too short a time in which to judge it completely. However, certain facts are worthy of note.

In the year this community has been functioning, there has been not one case of child delinquency or one crime committed by residents, whereas the immediately surrounding district is a hotbed of crime.

Add to this the fact that useful, healthy citizens are being produced where people detrimental to society might easily result and the cost in terms of money is far outweighed by profits in terms of more important things than money.

As yet the number of people that have been taken care of just scratches the surface of those in need, but the results would justify the continuance of such projects on a more comprehensive scale.

DEMOCRACY AS YOUTH'S MORAL CODE

Continued from Page 57

it is a struggle to achieve that power. There is not going to be an approach to a cordon-sanitaire until in England and France there has been some resolution of this conflict that exists continually in democracies, between capitalist and democratic parts. The cordon-sanitaire is going to come as soon as we have sufficient degree of economic collapse in those countries, a sufficient degree of economic material among the popular fronts in those countries. When? I can only say that I am not any prophet.

The World That Will Give Us Peace

COLLEGE AND HIGH SCHOOL JOINT PLENARY SESSION

THURSDAY, December 29
9:30 A.M.

Suggestion for Procedure:

Bert Witt:

On the matter of the election of the NEC which will take place tomorrow morning at 9 A. M.—Nominations are hereby declared open. Nominations will be received by a special committee of the Presiding Committee established for that purpose all day today. Nominations must be submitted in writing in the following form—"I nominate John Doe of X College

Jane Doe—X College"

Vote on the procedure: vote was in favor of accepting that procedure. Molly Yard was elected Chairman of the Session.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Registration Fourth Annual Convention of ASU

	Total	Delegates	Observers	Registered Visitors
OUT OF TOWN				
85 Colleges	322	267	40	15
34 High Schools	81	64	13	4
Total Out of Town Colleges and High Schools (119)	403	331	53	19
NEW YORK CITY				
22 Colleges	189	137	51	1
42 High Schools	172	157	11	4
Total N.Y.C. Col- leges and High Schools (64)	361	294	62	5
Total Registration	764	625	115	24

Note: Number of N. Y. colleges includes day and evening sessions. The figure 22 represents the number of ASU chapters represented.

Yard:

This morning we will have a discussion on the peace policy of the ASU. There will be no introductory report. Instead the program and resolutions committee has prepared a group of tentative resolutions, as a basis for discussion.

We shall have from whatever moment the debate begins until 1 P. M. for discussion, debate and adoption of the Peace Resolutions.

The resolution is in seven parts. We propose that the resolutions as a whole be read. Following that the reporter of the Resolutions Committee will read each section, and each section can be taken in turn as we did at Vassar. Debate will proceed on one section at a time. Any amendments, substitute motions will be accepted on the floor if they refer to the section on hand. Debate will proceed on the basis of the Resolutions Committee section and any substitutes or amendments

at the same time. At the conclusion of such debate, when delegates feel ready to vote, the vote will take place on the amendments or substitute motions and then on the main motion.

Motion to accept this procedure made and passed.

Question: How will the resolutions be distributed to delegates?

Answer: Mimeographed copies will be given out now.

The entire resolution was read by Joe Lash. These resolutions were accepted unanimously by the Resolutions Committee except for Section I, where there was one abstention.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Section I reread by Molly Yard, chairman.

The American Student Union is vitally concerned with the maintenance of peace and the continuance of free institutions, for only under such conditions can culture flourish and youth achieve its fullest heritage. Our efforts to have democracy adequately serve human needs in the United States cannot be divorced from efforts to achieve and strengthen democracy throughout the world. Nor can they be divorced from the struggle to restore and strengthen peace in the world.

The American Student Union believes that the people and government of the United States can and must make a positive contribution to the struggle for peace and democracy throughout the world by not giving material or moral aid to those aggressor nations which seem determined to engulf the world in war.

We urge a democratically controlled foreign policy enacted in legislation that would halt American participation in Japanese aggression; that would lift the embargo on the legitimate government in Spain; that would not reward aggression and penalize the victims of such aggression.

The American Student Union applauds the recall of our Ambassador from Germany and the prompt repudiation of Germany's impudent protest of Secretary Ickes' affirmation of popular sentiment. We believe that America's vigorous leadership expressed as well in the loan to China will do much to revive faith in democracy and peace and will strengthen the peoples of France and England in their efforts to secure a peace policy based on collaboration of democratic peoples and nations.

DISCUSSION

Evander Childs H. S., N. Y. "I believe that we can achieve culture and its fullest heritage in war time. I cite as an example, Spain today, which is very much war torn, yet there is the fullest culture. I, therefore, wish to make this amendment: 'It is possible to maintain free institutions, culture, etc. under war-time conditions.'" Since there was no second to this motion, it was dropped for lack of support.

Boston H. S.—In relation to the statement that the young man just made. If the students here have studied history they would realize that without the maintenance of peace we cannot have free institutions.

At this point the speaker was ruled out of order, because there was no second to the amendment.

Robin Meyers—I have a message from the convention of the Youth Committee Against War. I am against part of the first resolution but for most of it. There are two things we should do: (1) Fight against the cause of war and for economic security in our own country, (2) Aid similar movements throughout the world wherever they may exist. The Youth Committee Against War insists that although fascism is dangerous, the chief cause of war lies within the war system of competition itself. We must aid with every means in our power the underground movements,

We know as youth that government does not aid the forces youth wants it to aid. We have seen the government of the United States discriminate against the Loyalists in Spain. We know that its policy is steering only in one direction to preserve American commerce. We know that economic pressure by that government or military pressure by that government is no help to the anti-fascist movement, but rather a continuance of oppression by the United States in Central and South America, helping to preserve British imperialism.

Wayne University—The solution is that the fascists must be resisted, for if not they will stamp out democracies. The only way democracies can survive is by resisting fascism.

John Hopkins U.—The long experience of recent years has shown that Miss Meyer's program is an *extremely* long-term program, something that would take years when we are faced with the fascist menace which must be met *today*. The dictatorships in the fascist countries make it even more difficult to organize the masses and the program which Robin Meyers suggests is one which is now untimely. We must approach the problem from a different point of view, from a concerted action of those governments that are opposed to fascism. Any other method would disorganize the peace movement, and subject the whole world to aggression.

CONFIDENCE IN U. S. GOVERNMENT

Boston—One of the most wonderful things we have right now is a government which is making some attempt to protest fascism. Not to express our confidence in what little it has done would be decidedly out of place.

Harvard—Miss Meyers says that we can put no faith in our government. We should not urge our government to take action. In support of that, she says that the government has not lifted the embargo on Spain and its action in regard to China has been ambiguous. Therefore, according to her, we should stop changing the foreign policy of our government. But in that way the policy would not be improved. True we should aid the anti-fascist movements in fascist countries. We should struggle on two fronts: direct the foreign policy of the United States in the direction we want to go—stopping fascist aggression, and make every effort to aid the democratic forces struggling for expression in the fascist countries.

Antioch—There is nothing essentially incompatible in these two positions. If we oppose fascist aggression by the threat of our action, economic or military, we are opposing those forces in the fascist nations which are for democracy. In any war the working class of one country fights the working class of another. Can any-

one show me any war in which that has not been the case? In Spain, the working class of Italy to a certain extent, partly under coercion, is fighting the working class of Spain. Our program should be international action of all the progressive groups. We do not want all the bad and the good together fighting the battle of the good in Germany, but the good progressive elements in the United States fighting with the good progressive elements in Germany.

Chambers, Harvard—Who is oppressing the working class in the various countries of the world? Hitler and Mussolini, the people to whom our resolution refers. The people of the fascist nations will never be free as long as the fascist governments maintain power over them.

LABOR FAVORS U. S. ACTION

But there is another side to this question. I have heard a great deal of argument about defending the people of the fascist nations, but what about the people of Spain, China, Ethiopia? We want to help them too. To do this, United States leadership is essential, so that our government and our people can do what they can to help. We favor independent action, by all means, and working class action. But when we speak of working class action, let's see what the working class of America is doing about peace. At the C.I.O. convention a resolution on the protection of peace and democracy was unanimously adopted. Let me read it to you:

"The aggressor and war-making fascist governments of Germany, Italy and Japan have banded together in an effort to impose their domination over weaker nations;

"They have within their boundaries ruthlessly suppressed the free trade union movement, reducing the people to economic and political bondage and have denied civil liberty to the people and religious liberty to the minorities and have shamefully persecuted them for their beliefs, and whereas:

"Labor is most vitally concerned with the maintenance of peace and the continued protection of the people's rights since the free trade union movement can survive and flourish only when peace and democratic institutions prevail;

"Be it resolved that this convention expresses its view that this country and its people should not give any aid or comfort, either through material or moral means, to those aggressor nations which are so determined to bring fascism to the entire world through war and brutal aggression;

"That this convention pledges its full support to legislation that would be formulated by the Federal administration which would effectively carry through such a program; and

"Be it resolved that President Roosevelt and the United States government should cooperate with all other democratic nations in the protection and strengthening of democracy and democratic institutions."

IF LABOR IS NOT BACKING DOWN, WE MUST NOT BACK DOWN!

Townsend Harris H. S., N. Y.—I am against the position of those who wish to place sanctions against

the aggressor nations. No government today is under the control of the working class with the exception of the Soviet Union. These arms sent to non-aggressor nations could be used against the working class.

How can we trust any capitalist government to do anything for the working class? What we have to do is to unite the workers of America.

Chairman: We are discussing the first section as moved by the resolutions committee. If you speak you should be speaking for or against it. Is there a substitute motion? Amendment?

Mitchell Lindeman, City Main Day — Include an amendment calling for an embargo of the aggressor nations. Seconded.

Discussion of Amendment.

Antioch: What do you mean by embargo?

NYU Evening: The person really meant the giving of material aid.

Mitchell Lindeman accepts: Amendment should read as follows: "—by embargoing war materials and supplies to aggressor nations and by refusing to give moral aid to those aggressor nations—"

Ken Born, Chicago District Sec'y: This is quite clear. Further discussion isn't contributing to the general understanding of the problem. I move the question.

Seconded, passed. Vote on amendment. Amendment passed.

Amendment II: "We further urge the trade union and labor movement of America and particularly the maritime union to refuse to carry or manufacture war materials designed to go to aggressor nations. (Seconded)

Antioch: The motion made is unnecessary, because it is all already understood in the original resolution.

Question is moved. Question is called. Convention voted not to include that motion in the original peace resolution.

Question is moved on 1st Section: Question is called. FOR—434.

AGAINST—9. Section I is passed.

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY

Section II—Read by Chairman:

We are confident that vigorous leadership by the American democracy is more necessary than ever after Munich. It is for that reason that we approve the steps taken by the United States at Lima to strengthen democracy in the Western hemisphere and to unite it against aggression. We urge education for and support of a democratic application of the Good Neighbor Policy by which we mean non-interference in the affairs of other nations, common consultation to safeguard the Hemisphere against fascist penetration, and the carrying through of the trade agreement program in consultation to safeguard the Hemisphere against fascist penetration, and the carrying through of the trade agreement program in such a way as will strengthen democracy in the Western Hemisphere. We recognize that there have been shortcomings in the application of the Good Neighbor Policy in the past, particularly in the case of the pressure on Mexico in the oil controversy. Finally, we declare our support for the Inter-American Student Conference which is scheduled to take place in Havana.

DISCUSSION

Bklyn. Day: Only 4 nations South of the Rio Grande are real democracies. The United States is interested in markets in South America. She is not worried about

fascism there, but rather by the fact that these nations want these markets and so do we. Perhaps if we can improve the domestic markets, we would not have to seek these markets and create incidents of conflict with other nations.

*Cooper Union—*Regardless of what the aims of the United States in South America are, by replacing Nazi influence and fascist influence in South America we are doing something to prevent its spread throughout the world and, therefore, we should support the Good Neighbor Policy.

*Evelyn Elkin—*Substitute Motion.

President Roosevelt calls a conference of the "democratic" nations of South America, fourteen of which are fascist dictatorships, and holds the conference in Peru where every progressive movement is forced to work underground and which has one of the most vicious and brutal dictatorships in South America. The United States government welcomes Batista, dictator of Cuba, with high honors. Batista makes beautiful speeches about democracy with which the trade union movement of Cuba would like to agree, but unfortunately they are unable to do so at present because they are forced to work underground.

Today the United States is righteously attacking German fascism in South America. President Roosevelt becomes incensed over Hitler's treatment of the Jews. Why? Because Germany wants to exploit an economic field which the United States considers its own. Hitherto imperialists from the United States have worked South American workers long hours, given them small pay, removed the resources of their country, and imposed dictatorships on them. Now Germany wants to do it, so it becomes immoral.

We recognize that the United States Government is not against fascism. Not the American brand. She may be against German or Italian fascism, but has no particular objection to the kind she herself sponsors. It follows, therefore, that we cannot rely upon our government to fight fascism. That struggle must be carried on by those who will suffer under fascism, the workers.

The American Student Union pledges its wholehearted support to the anti-imperialist movements of South America which are carrying on their valiant struggle for freedom in the face of the oppression which imperialism breeds. We oppose the imperialist exploitation of South American workers by the United States or any other nation and will work to end that exploitation.

Amendment to substitute motion: Support the underground movements in the South American countries where they are suppressed.

Harvard: It seems to me the outline Miss Elkin proposed is to give up everything. And it will result in a non-progressive internal policy. The Student Union believes that the United States government can be progressive not only in internal policy but foreign policy as well.

It is rather foolish to believe that the South American countries sat through that long conference to discuss how they could better be exploited by the United States.

Bill Hood, Philadelphia District Secretary, ASU:

When the governments of North and South America met at Lima, they met to discuss a number of problems, foremost among which was their national independence and the threat to that independence from fascist forces. It was not only the United States, but all governments

represented at Lima which recognized the main issue that fascist groups, subsidized by Berlin, Rome and Tokio, were plotting to overthrow their governments both from within and without. The recent fascist uprising in Chile against the democratic people's government just serves as one dramatic example of how desperately the Nazis are seeking to make Chile and South America a second Spain.

We should be proud that our government, the government of the United States, is taking such a leading part in the fight to keep fascism from advancing to our hemisphere and our country. Miss Elkin and the other members of the Youth Committee against War seem to want to discourage the anti-fascist activities of our government. They seem to want to leave our government in the hands of indigenous and other fascists who together with Hitler oppose the Good Neighbor policy. They attempt to do this spuriously in the name of the labor movement of Latin America. May we point out that men like Vincent Toledano, head of the Mexican Confederation of Labor, are among the most outspoken advocates of the Good Neighbor Policy, because they realize how necessary the defeat of fascism is to the existence of the labor movement.

PRESENT POLICY FRIENDLY

It is true that the United States government has in the past given lip service to a good neighbor policy, but under President Roosevelt's able leadership, there has been a decided change. It would be suicidal not to recognize our present policy as a friendly one, not interested in dominating the affairs of other countries, but in a true democratic alliance.

Lillian Herlich: I am an observer from the Youth Committee Against War, and still a member in good standing of the Hunter College chapter of the ASU.

Ever since the ASU took its stand against the Oxford Pledge last year, our fight against militarism has been reduced.

Discussion on militarism ruled out of order.

A delegate: It is impossible to differentiate between the struggle for democracy in the United States and the struggle for democracy in the rest of the world.

City College: At the World Youth Congress, 200 delegates from South America pleaded that we support the United States government in its good neighbor policy. We should have courses in our schools on the Good Neighbor policy. It is the fascists who call the Good Neighbor policy Yankee Imperialism, and not the democracies.

Point of Information: If the substitute motion is defeated, would the amendment or addition to the motion be in order as an amendment to the original resolution?

Chairman: Yes, amendment is in order.

Harvard: If the United States is not an imperialist nation, who stopped the purchase of silver, who sent notes to Mexico? I move that we include an amendment as follows:

"—and at the same time we wish to guard against furtherance of U. S. imperialism.

Northwestern U. Moves the question.

Vote: Substitute motion defeated.

Amendment I is passed and reworded as follows:

The ASU does everything in its power to support the democratic movement in those Latin American countries where it is suppressed.

Amendment II is carried.

Original Resolution plus amendments: FOR—440
AGAINST— 11

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Section III—Read by Chairman.

Proposed Resolution

The American Student Union believes that the first line of national defense for the United States must be its foreign policy. It is for this reason that we have urged a positive foreign policy that would discourage the forces of aggression and support the forces of peace. To the degree that our foreign policy is effective in checking aggression, to that extent do we limit the need for armaments. In the present circumstances, however, the American Student Union does not believe it possible to urge unilateral disarmament on the part of American democracy. We believe that disarmament can be achieved when nations act in concert to re-establish a climate of security, friendship and peace. The ASU instructs its National Executive Committee to undertake together with the NICC and the NSFA a study of what are the defense needs of the U. S. and how they can be carried through with the greatest guarantee of peace and democracy and with a recognition that militarism is by its nature wasteful and injurious in its effects upon human personality.

Amendment Proposed by Oliver Stone, Wesleyan University

The American Student Union believes that the first line of national defense for the United States must be its foreign policy. It is for that reason that we have urged a positive foreign policy that would discourage the forces of aggression and support the forces of peace. In the present circumstances, however, the American Student Union urges the United States government to renew its advocacy of world multilateral disarmament. We believe that disarmament can be achieved when nations act in concert to re-establish a climate of security, friendship and peace. We oppose the Roosevelt-Vinson "blue-sky" navy, with a recognition that militarism is by its nature wasteful and injurious in its effects upon human personality.

FOR MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT

Oliver Stone: The first change that I propose in the original peace resolution is the omission of the third sentence, which reads 'To the degree that our foreign policy is at all effective in checking aggression, to that extent do we limit the need for armaments' . . . However lucid this sentence may be theoretically, in practice it is virtually meaningless, for it ignores the obvious fact that in the world today a nation's effectiveness in checking aggression is for the most part dependent upon the status of its armaments. The current strenuous rearmament policy of Great Britain illustrates this fact. In other words what this sentence implies is that 'We recognize that, practically speaking, armaments are the most important factor in checking aggression today. Therefore, let us join and win in the armaments race.' Why not put it thus in so many words, if we believe it? . . . I don't.

I concur with the sentiment of the next sentence which repudiates 'unilateral disarmament on the part of American democracy' but I would suggest that instead of wording it negatively, we phrase it positively to read: "the American Student Union urges the United States to renew its advocacy of world multilateral disarmament", for it seems to me that in spec-

ifically condemning unilateral disarmament, which viewpoint has so little support today, we are put in the position of beating a dead horse. Again, if we are really for disarmament on a world-wide basis, and if we think that the U. S. can play a part in initiating such a movement, why not come out and say so?

With regard to the sentence which would refer this whole problem to the National Executive Committee, it is my contention that such an action is ill-advised on both practical and theoretical grounds. In the first place, as a member of the N. E. C. for the past two years, I am very dubious about its ability to undertake a job of this magnitude, having seen it fizzle out in much less ambitious projects than a study of the defense needs of the United States. Secondly, and this is the most important consideration, I hold that this question of national defense, linked as it is with our foreign policy, is in itself largely a matter of policy, and, therefore, should be settled by us here, and now, since we, not the National Executive Committee, are the policy-forming body in the ASU. And so, in my amendment, I have submitted what I think our defense position should be: 'We oppose the Roosevelt-Vinson "blue sky" navy', and then continue with the original wording of the resolution—'with a recognition that militarism is by its nature wasteful and injurious in its effects upon human personality.'

Lash: In military terms, why do you oppose the Vinson "blue sky" Navy Bill? Why are you against a navy of 18 battleships as compared to a navy of 14 battleships?

ARMS BASED ON FOREIGN POLICY

Stone: I sincerely wish to avoid dodging this question, though it is obvious that Joe is trying to put me on the spot in asking me to answer a question now which it took our legislative investigating committees several weeks to consider. Suffice it, then, for me briefly to indicate my position. I hold that the question of national defense cannot be isolated, as Joe would have it, from the general question of our foreign policy. They are inextricably bound. It is therefore both unwise and undemocratic to give to our so-called "military experts" such a large share in the determination of our foreign policy. It is rather the State Department upon which the responsibility for policy making in this sphere should rest. The issue before us in this part of our peace resolution is whether or not we should support American armament to the great extent necessarily required by our acceptance of a foreign policy of collective security. Since I oppose this foreign policy and its concomitant super-armament, my amendment was proposed with the purpose of bringing to the open these fundamental issues of policy, which, I contend, we should consider right now, instead of delegating our authority.

Lash: The discussion we are having is a very grave one for our generation. The purpose of my question to Ollie was to get him to show how his foreign policy dictates a navy of one size and a foreign policy of collective action dictates a navy of another size.

ISOLATIONISTS FOR BIG NAVY

There is undoubtedly a relationship between foreign policy and armaments. When foreign policy fails to be a force for peace, lawlessness and anarchy increase throughout the world, and then everyone raises a demand for armaments. But what Ollie has been trying to show is that if one favors a foreign policy of collec-

tive action then one must favor a large navy. Ollie dodged my question because he knows perfectly well that most of the advocates of a policy of neutrality are likewise the advocates of what he calls "a blue sky navy".

Take the case of Major George Fielding Eliot, who is now the leading military expert of the neutrality and isolationist people. Major Eliot is against any form of concerted action among the democracies. He is what has been crudely referred to as an "isolationist". Nevertheless, he was and is in favor of what Ollie calls "a blue sky navy." He thinks, for example, that if the Azore Islands should come under domination of Germany, this would represent a direct threat to American defense, and so as a defensive measure, he indicates that a military expedition to clean out the Azores might be necessary. And that requires a big navy.

There are lots of people who have made a distinction between what they call offensive and defensive weapons. Coastal defenses, submarines, airplanes, in their opinion, are defensive instruments. But as Major Eliot points out, once an enemy fleet has come sufficiently near one's cities to call into action coastal defenses, in practical terms, that means he is already shelling our cities. Therefore, we must be prepared to engage an enemy long before he can get within striking distance of our cities. That means meeting him at Guam or Hawaii. That means keeping him out of the Azores. It is for that reason Major Eliot, — again I remind you a leading spokesman for the isolationists, — considers a large navy a defense measure.

In other words, when Ollie tries to pin responsibility for the increase in armaments on the exponents of collective security, he does not make out a case. We do believe there is a relationship between foreign policy and armaments. We do believe that if American foreign policy had been a factor in the Manchurian, Ethiopian, Spanish, Czech crises for preventing a deterioration of international law and order, that today there would be no need for armaments. Furthermore, we do not abandon our struggle for disarmament, but we say that it is about time that we recognized that the conditions of disarmament are ending the possibility of unprovoked aggression, ending the international tensions that have been precipitated by fascism, and the establishment of a feeling of security among nations by reciprocal guarantees in case one is the subject of an unprovoked aggression.

CORRECT FOREIGN POLICY BRINGS PEACE

It is foreign policy on which we must place our emphasis. I believe that if we were to lift the embargo on Spain, that would be worth more than a dozen battleships in preventing fascist penetration in Latin America. If we were to place an embargo on Japan, that would be worth more than fortification of Guam or an increased navy, in assuring that Japanese aggression will not be directed against the United States. *Armaments are not the road to peace, but a correct foreign policy is.* That is the heart of our resolution.

American assistance in checking aggression is not dependent on the status of its armaments. Let no one conjure up the bogey-man of a Japanese attack on the United States, if we deny our resources to Japan. Japan is having sufficient trouble with China not to take on another adversary. Lifting the embargo on Spain and enabling the Spanish Republic to purchase

materials in the United States would not involve us in war with anyone. And so our assistance in checking aggression in Spain is not dependent on the status of our armaments. Announcing in advance that we will deny our resources to the aggressor and open our markets to the victim of aggression will not involve us in war. But failure to check aggression allows the latter to expand to a point where aggression immediately threatens the United States. Then there is a cry for armaments, as there is today.

In other words, it is precisely the policy of inaction in the face of aggression that leads to a situation in which nations pile up armaments as their only protection. Let us make our foreign policy our first line of defense!

Finally Ollie says that in condemning unilateral disarmament, we are beating "a dead horse". Now Ollie might never have believed in unilateral disarmament, but I did. I did think it was possible for the United States to set an example in disarmament, without waiting for multilateral action. But I no longer think so. On the other hand, when I tried to figure out how much armaments, I found myself completely bogged down. I say our concern must be foreign policy. Our concern must be aid to Spain, aid to China. Our concern must be with the obtaining of a foreign policy that will help unify the scattered forces of democracy.

Robin Meyers: On the question of national defense, I wish to take up some of the problems that have been presented and give some of the answers that I can give from the point of view of people whom I represent and the first thing I want to say is that I believe that what is happening in the United States is of equal, even superior, importance to what is happening in the world. Our first duty is to stop fascism in the United States because it can be done. What is national defense? It is the defense of American interests and property over

the world and wherever they may exist. Armaments—what are we going to do with them? People who speak in terms of unilateral disarmament, are those who speak in terms of what the United States can do. There are people in other countries of the world fighting for the same thing we are fighting here. But the fight begins at home and it is our job.

Amendment Proposed by Jack Cottin, New York University

Our foreign policy to preserve peace must call for economic collaboration among the democracies to isolate the aggressors. We oppose an isolationist big-navy policy, because of our conviction that under a system of concerted action, we have the best defense program.

Substitute Resolution Proposed by Leonore Thompson, Vassar College

The American Student Union believes that the first line of national defense of the United States must be its domestic program of progressive social legislation and foreign policy to combat aggression where it exists, since the danger of fascist aggression today is from internal propaganda supported by economic disorganization and unrest, rather than from foreign military aggression. Although we recognize that we cannot know the precise military needs of the United States, we advocate the spending of government money for progressive social legislation rather than for great armament programs, and for a foreign policy to discourage the forces of foreign aggression by economic measures, and by cooperation with other groups working for a similar program.

Motion to table continued discussion of Section III until after the panels, when there would be more time for consideration and discussion.

Seconded, voted upon and passed. SECTION III TABLED.

Plenary Session Adjourned.

Commissions on Peace

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

2:00 — 4:30 P.M.

THE SITUATION IN SPAIN

Chairman: DONALD THAYER

Introductory remarks by Thayer:

Events in Spain must be seriously considered as they have and do influence students of America and their future. Paramount in our considerations should be the lifting of the embargo from Loyalist Spain, since this is a question of life or death to the Spanish people.

The teachers and students of Spain, who have done admirable work, are grateful for the help of American students and teachers. The Spanish Teachers' Union has attacked the problem of illiteracy and has accomplished an amazing job. A cultural militia teaches the army men in the front lines. There are also schools behind the trenches. As a result of this the cultural level of all has been raised and illiteracy has almost been wiped out in the armed forces. The Teachers' Union of Madrid has organized the evacuation of citizens of Madrid and Valencia and helped them find refuge from Franco's bombardment. Realizing how powerful a weapon against fascism the elimination of illiteracy is, they have launched a widespread program of progressive education for workers in the midst of bloodshed.

However, they suffer from the lack of such essentials as paper and pencil. The American Federation of Teachers and the American Student Union should help provide Spain with materials needed for educating Spanish children.

The Teachers' Union was also mobilized for active front line service. A battalion of teachers was formed at the outset of the war to fill the trenches. Among the battalion chiefs are many teachers who have distinguished themselves brilliantly. The teachers and students of Spain who are fighting our battles ask that we:

1. Lift the embargo on Spain.
2. Raise a fund for the requisites of education in Spain.

SITUATION IN SPAIN

By JAY ALLEN

I saw the first Italian plane over the Rock of Gibraltar on the 30th of July, twelve days after the outbreak of the war. Any child could have understood what it meant but there were no children in Gibraltar and Tangiers, only admirals and diplomats. Every child knows that in the past four centuries, five international crises and four major wars have arisen from the Iberian pen-

insula. Spain remains what it has always been, the key to the British and French empires. Spain lies athwart the jugular veins of both of them. They saw it clearly for centuries, but in 1936 they were led astray by propaganda that raised a red smokescreen over Spain. The political issues were blurred by non-existent social issues.

Non-intervention was devised to enable General Franco to win and win quickly—before Hitler and Mussolini should be in too deep. Once Franco won, then Britain would take him into camp with a loan. But no one counted on the courage of the Spanish people and no one counted on the refusal of the Russians to play at the suicidal farce of non-intervention which prevented a legal government from buying arms for its defense, and enabled a rebel general to get all he wanted from the Fascist dictators. To say that Hitler and Mussolini entered the fray to save Spain from non-existent Communism is applesauce; they saw their chance to settle down across the lifelines of their rivals, the French and the British, and did so, with the complicity of the French and British governments, too impressed by the red smokescreen over Spain to see the facts until it was too late.

The presence of powerful fighting units of Germans and Italians in Spain was partly responsible for the effectiveness of the threat that brought the democratic surrender of Czechoslovakia. Non-intervention was devised ostensibly to prevent the Spanish "civil war" becoming a world war. Due to non-intervention Mussolini and Hitler were entangled not only to have fighting forces south of the Pyrenees at the critical moment, but to control Majorca, Vigo, Cadiz and other ports of vital strategic value, to sweep the Straits of Gibraltar with their heavy artillery posted on both sides, and to threaten France's war industries in the southwest with destruction by planes based in Spain.

At the height of the Czechoslovakian crisis, the German pocket-battleship *Deutschland* took up station in Vigo harbor with destroyers and submarines. Vigo, stamping ground of the British fleet for centuries, controls Britain's communications not only with the Far East, but with South Africa. Submarines based on Vigo could play havoc with British shipping to and from American ports in mid-Atlantic.

TRAGEDY OF THE EMBARGO

The United States has underwritten non-intervention and the Anglo-Italian pact. For without the existence of our embargo, denying Spain alone of all the nations in the world, the right to buy arms for her defense, we have made this tragic finagling possible. We kept our embargo on last Spring at the behest of the British. During the discussion of the embargo last Spring—engineered by a "red" conspiracy in which Dorothy Thompson, Walter Lippman, the *New York Sun*, the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Herald-Tribune* and other radical personalities and papers saw the injustice of, and the dangers to us, in the maintenance of the embargo—the only support for it simmered down to the unneutrals, people who want Franco to win under our doctrine of "neutrality." By keeping the embargo on we were helping Mr. Chamberlain to put through the Anglo-Italian pact, woo Italy, and so break the Rome-Berlin axis! A fine use at any time for neutrality! We had to wait until we got a neutrality act to get involved in an international entanglement like that by which we

participate in the strangulation of a free people in the interests of a policy that now turns out to have been as fanciful and as farcical as the non-intervention agreement itself.

When Lord Halifax on November 3 in the House of Lords, admitted that "Mussolini had made it clear from the first that he was not prepared to see Franco defeated," he made very clear to even the doubters, the true purpose of non-intervention and the Anglo-Italian treaty. Our embargo was a parallel measure to Non-Intervention. Its maintenance may have been defensible, at least by those who thought Non-Intervention was what it purported to be. But no longer. By maintaining it now we are not only unneutral as the very sponsors of the Neutrality Act admit, and as the support of the embargo by pro-Franco elements proves, but we are actively participating in a blockade and the slow strangulation of a gallant people. Hardly defensible from a legal point of view even, the embargo now becomes a serious moral problem.

Spain is what it has always been, what it was in 1823 when Mr. Monroe, alarmed by the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula by the troops of the Holy Alliance, propounded his famous doctrine. Then and now Spain was and is a springboard to South America. Then the British proposed that we formulate what has come to be known as the Monroe Doctrine, to prevent the powers of the Holy Alliance from attempting to reestablish Spanish domination in the New World as a prelude to their own expansion in the West. Now Britain asks us to maintain an embargo on the free people of Spain, the last obstacle between the new Holy Alliance and the South America they covet.

FASCISTS THREATEN CHILE

Let the great President of ours look to South America! Look to Chile! A Popular Front government will come to power next month. Our embargo on Spain stands as an invitation to Hitler and Mussolini to subsidize revolt in Chile as they did in Spain against a comparable government. And if revolt were to break out we would have to impose an embargo on arms shipments, would we not? And who could guarantee that Hitler and Mussolini would not sell arms to the Chilean rebels? Not *interfere*. Of course not, no more than they have interfered in Spain. Not a bit more! Look to South America, Mr. President, and decide whether we can afford to maintain this kind of "neutrality" that is an invitation to aggression.

The Monroe Doctrine is very explicit. It says that we should consider as "dangerous to our peace and safety" not only armed aggression but "any attempt on their part (the Holy Alliance of then) to *extend their system* to any portion of this hemisphere . . ." You extend a system these days by barter and trade, by strengthening the hand of a minority and when the time is ripe by selling it arms under the guise of Non-Intervention.

NEUTRALITY IS UNNEUTRALITY

Non-Intervention is intervention. Our neutrality is unneutrality. The facts can no longer be blurred. The President's noble statement of the other day must be followed up by *action*. Until the embargo is raised we are fostering aggression, encouraging and lending comfort to the very Dictators whom he so eloquently condemned. "Keep out of it! We hear a lot of that. Fine, but we can't keep out of it, until we get out of it! And we are in, as neutral in the case of Spain as if we had

sent the Marine Corps to fight for Franco.

The only hope that remains for stopping the avalanche that began at Munich — and long before — lies now in our raising the embargo. By doing so, we would be acting in our own interests, we would stiffen French and British opposition, and would restore the Spanish people their rights, and we would become *neutral*, at long last, *neutral*! We can accomplish all that simply by becoming *neutral*, by ceasing to interfere as we are interfering now.

Mr. Chamberlain's philosophy has been, "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em." And we, by supporting that beastly farce called Non-Intervention and the Anglo-Italian agreement, through our maintenance of the embargo, are to all intents and purposes participating. If our actions can be made to accord with our words, then there is still hope.

Questions to Mr. Allen:

1. How many volunteers would you say there were in Spain?

Answer: Since the beginning of the war, there have been 40,000 volunteers on the Government side in the International Brigade with no more than 20,000 in Spain at a time. On the Rebel side there have been 170,000 Italian "volunteers" with about 90,000 in Spain at a time. There have also been 8,000 German "volunteers."

2. What has been the attitude of the people in Loyalist Spain toward the Church?

Answer: No one has been attacked or slain for his faith in Loyalist Spain. The church has only been attacked where it has acted in the interests of the fascists.

DISCUSSION

City College: The most important campaign now is the one to lift the embargo. Letters should be written to Congressmen and the Senator Key Pittman by all ASUers. Red Cross shipments to Spain are essentially humanitarian.

Michigan: We held memorial services in Church for Michigan U. students who were killed in Spain. We also ran a Fast Supper, which consisted of a bowl of stew, and contributed funds for Spanish aid. During the campaign for the Relief Ship, we canvassed the whole town as well as the college and had depots stationed all over town. There was an excellent response to this and we collected a great deal of food and clothing.

Northwestern U.: I would suggest that the various chapters of the ASU organize a drive to sell books and raise funds thereby.

Queens College: We feel that it is very important for the ASU to speak to Catholic students about Spain and seek their cooperation.

Tilden H. S., NYC: We have circulated many petitions to lift the embargo.

Swarthmore: At Swarthmore we organized a campaign to send an ambulance to Spain. We raised funds through movies, hall collections, and cooperated with the Community Chest Drive of Student Council.

U. of Chicago: The University raised funds to send a Chicago ambulance to Spain last year. There is a United Refugee Aid Fund of all school organizations organized on campus. This has helped in reaching Catholic students with educational material.

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THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY

Chairman: OLIVER STONE, Wesleyan U.

Guest Speaker: DAVID EFRON

Excerpts from Dr. Efron's address

"ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN YEARS ago, on December 2, 1823, President James Monroe sent a message to the Congress of the U. S. embodying what has since been known as the Monroe Doctrine. I would like to read a portion of it:

"The political system of the Allied Powers (Holy Alliance . . . E.) is essentially different . . . from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments . . . it is impossible that the Allied Powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brothers, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference . . ."

That was over a century ago, and since that time your southern neighbors have built great nations in Latin America. The sovereignty of the twenty-one nations has been maintained and the framework of democracy erected in the Western World.

THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

At Lima the governments of the Americans met to discuss, among other questions, a new threat to their sovereignties, a threat remarkably like that which impelled President Monroe to his declaration, a threat to extend undemocratic systems of government from Europe to our hemisphere.

As in Monroe's day, this is of vital concern to the U. S. But as the Latin American nations have grown in strength and influence, this threat is to be met not by one nation, but by twenty-one. The "Declaration of Lima", and the "Declaration of American Principles" embody this new interpretation and amplification of the Monroe Doctrine, fit to meet the present historical situation. These two declarations mark an extremely significant, progressive new step in Pan-American and world relations. They are, in fact, the beginnings of a new Monroe Doctrine: multilateral, instead of unilateral, based on the political philosophy of the "Good Neighbor", instead of that of the "Big Brother", of that "Big Brother" who, it will be recalled, later in the 19th century and up to the advent of your progressive New Deal, turned into policeman carrying a "big stick" in his hands.

Originally, and prior to the "dollar diplomacy" period, the Monroe Doctrine, in spite of its unilateral character, dictated perhaps by the uneven economic and political development of the American countries, was, broadly speaking, a progressive doctrine, aiming at the preservation of the national sovereignties and the incipient democratic institutions of the Western hemisphere, threatened by the aggressive policies of the "Holy Axis" of that period. It was only at a subsequent period, the period of Wall Street imperialism and of dollar diplomacy, that the original intention of Monroe's declaration was forsaken, and the doctrine misused in detriment to the sovereignties, the democratic aspirations, and the living standards of some of the Latin American countries. This unfortunate development was

parallel with, shall we say a result of, an internal reactionary development in the U. S., an assault by the same moneyed minority on the democratic rights and the living standards of the people of your own country. With the advent of the Roosevelt Administration, and the beginnings of the breakdown of the internal political power of that minority, the imperialistic "big stick" of its foreign policy was, by necessity, also broken down.

It is significant that those groups in the U. S. who are opposed to the Good Neighbor policy are also the

As in 1825, a new Holy Alliance (the fascist Berlin-

NEW HOLY ALLIANCE

As in 1825, a new Holy Alliance (the fascist Berlin-Rome-Tokio Axis) is threatening the political and economic independence of the American nations.

The same type of activities as were carried out in Spain by Germany and Italy in preparation for the rebellion led by Franco are now being conducted in the Latin American countries by these powers, as I propose to show today, and as other speakers who will address us will show. The documents seized by the Spanish government after the beginning of the Franco uprising gave a complete picture of these preparations. By comparing German, Italian and Japanese activities in Latin America today with the story told by these documents, we can draw a deadly parallel of fascist purpose.

To the fascist powers, Spain is only a beginning in their plans of conquest of the Latin peoples. Victory for Franco in Spain would be, for Hitler and Mussolini, but a stepping-stone in a carefully laid plan of imperialist conquest of the Spanish-speaking countries of the world. Franco in his speeches boasts of his dream of "Spanish Empire" — under the patronage of Hitler and Mussolini of course. To Franco it is a dream. To his masters it is a plan as definite and ruthless as is the Tanaka Document to the Military rulers of Japan who are now carrying it out in Asia, with important excursions at the same time into Latin-America.

It is important to understand this tie-up between the wars of conquest now raging and threatening in every part of the world, and the problem of the defense of the democracies of the Americas.

PAN AMERICAN UNITY

Pan American unity, and unity of the democratic countries of the world, is essential if this hemisphere is to be saved from the fate of Spain, if a bloody war of Democracy defending itself against fascist mercenaries is to be avoided in the Americas. It is the imminence of this danger that gives special significance to a consistent application of the Good Neighbor Policy of President Roosevelt, and his warning to the aggressor nations to keep hands off the New World.

President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy has its opponents in the United States and in Latin America, as well as abroad. Certain people and groups have readily given their aid to and become a part of the fascist movement. They are the groups who would deny civil liberties to their own people, and who are quite willing to make any alliance with any one in their opposition to popular government. The fight against fascism in the Western World is therefore more than resistance to penetration from abroad. It can be an effective fight only if it also directed against the internal allies of foreign fascism. Fundamentally the preservation and strengthening of democracy is not and cannot

be exclusively a power or responsibility of a nation's government. In the Western Hemisphere, as elsewhere, the future of democracy rests in the hands of the people of each nation. What that future is will be determined by their ability to organize themselves in defense of democracy, and to find the means of cooperating in this with the democratic forces of other countries.

QUESTIONS:

1. In regard to the Pan-American Student Conference:

Purpose explained by Herbert Witt: When the students from practically all countries gathered at the International Youth Congress, the first basis for real friendship and fraternity was laid. The new Congress to meet at Havana, Cuba, is to be representative of all student groups of all countries and will have as its central theme the development of cultural understanding. Students will get to know each others problems in student organization. It is to be what the Lima Conference was on a large and official scale. There will be study groups on the subject of developing regional consolidation against Fascist penetration. There will be commissions to find ways and means by which the college students in the Western Hemisphere can cooperate in the interests of democracy.

II. Dr. Efron contradicted the delegate from New York who feared that there was no truth in the reports that Batista's government in Mexico was not returning to liberalism.

"In some part of Latin America and of the United States there are groups, unfortunately in power, who claim a monopoly of patriotism for the purpose of monopolizing the rights and property of the people of their countries. These are among those who hide in the Trojan Horse of false patriotism and indigenous dictatorship."

"I think the lesson to be drawn from a study of the cooperative action of these groups is: (referring to the democratic organizations of the South American countries) that the best guarantee of a nation's freedom is the freedom of its people. Only the democratic expression of the will of the majority can guarantee political and economic independence of a nation."

III. In answer to the question, whether it was right for the United States to make loans and investments in those countries of South America who were known to be semi-Fascist, Dr. Efron reminded us that by moving out we were only making more room for the European dictatorships.

IV. Dr. Efron denied the statement made by Ludwig Lore, in the New York press, that "Argentina be termed Chief Victor at Lima". Dr. Efron considers the conference was a success and that the aims of the U. S. Government have been realized.

RESOLUTIONS

I. Resolved: that the local peace councils hold pan-America model Conferences to popularize and create enthusiasm for the Inter-American Conference.

- a. that one be held on April 14, the Pan-American date.
- b. that the A.S.U. urge cooperation with the Model League of Nations.
- c. that the A.S.U. chapters get in contact with the Pan-American Union, especially the Bureau for Intellectual Cooperation to gather material for the Conference and also literature dealing with the cultural achievements

of Latin America.

- d. that the work of the W.P.A. division gathering material on South American countries for visual education in the schools be recognized and applauded.

II. Resolved: there should be a creation of a sub-committee on the N.E.C. of the A.S.U. the functions of which shall be:

1. to establish close relationship with the student movements of the American countries for the purpose of joint democratic action.

2. to establish contact with the democratic movements in Puerto Rico for the purpose of supporting them in bringing pressure to bear on the American Government so that the political status of Puerto Rico be defined in terms consistent with the desires of the people of Puerto Rico and the "Good Neighbor Policy".

3. to educate American students on Latin American problems.

III. Resolved: that the A.S.U. favor the establishment of an exchange of students of the U. S. with those of Latin America and Canada and aid the establishment of correspondence with the students of those countries.

IV. Resolved: that the National Office of the A.S.U. make available the names and addresses of students or organizations in the Americas for the purpose of correspondence.

V. Resolved: that the A.S.U. go on record as supporting the extension of courses dealing with Latin American affairs, and especially the Spanish language in our Colleges and High Schools.

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THE SITUATION IN THE ORIENT

Chairman: BETTY WALKER, *Swarthmore*

Guest Speaker: T. A. BISSON, *Foreign Policy Association*
Mr. Bisson

THE FAR EASTERN problem of today has its setting in the critical world situation resulting from the Munich agreement. Since Munich, the bonds linking Japan to the Berlin-Rome axis have become far stronger. In the summer of 1938, the Japanese "moderates" hoped General Ugaki would come into power and reach a "deal" with Britain after taking Hankow. These hopes were shattered by Munich. Ugaki was driven from the Foreign Office, Canton was taken, and closer ties were forged with Germany and Italy. Lieutenant-General Oshima and Toshio Shiratori, original Japanese negotiators of the "anti-Comintern" pact, became Ambassadors at Berlin and Rome respectively. Several months earlier Major-General Eugen Ott, a German sponsor of the "anti-Comintern" pact, had been appointed Ambassador to Tokyo. The unprecedented phenomenon of two generals as diplomatic representatives of the German and Japanese governments was a significant omen of the post-Munich world.

British policy in the Far East has been equivocal. Although Britain's interests in China are important, they occupy third place after Europe and the dominions (including India). After Munich, however, the Japanese military were even less willing to make concessions to Britain. If no satisfactory "deal" can be made, British policy may tend to grow firmer — especially if pressed by the United States.

American policy has been considerably firmer since Munich. Strengthening of armaments is an important

item in the defense of the U. S. A., but equally important is the pursuit of a consistent program — economic and political — for the curbing of aggression. In the Far East, our own self-interest coincides with China's traditional claim on American friendship.

The character of the war in China is such that the United States cannot remain aloof and unaffected. Japan's military-fascist rulers are carrying on a campaign of unparalleled savagery in China. They, not the Japanese people, are responsible for aerial bombing of civilian population, destruction of China's educational institutions, assault on the Chinese home and family, and the spread of opium and its derivatives. The latter is a problem which becomes steadily more acute, and which neither the United States nor the League Opium Advisory Committee has been able to solve. Today the Far East is the prime source of illicit drugs.

MENACE TO FREE TRADE

Japan's objective in this war affects American economic and military security no less directly. Japan will not "develop" China, in the sense of an all-round improvement and a higher standard of living for the Chinese people. Japan will monopolize the Chinese market, develop heavy industries (mining, etc.), expand production of raw materials (raw cotton in North China), and use cheap Chinese labor to flood world markets with products of light industry (textiles, etc.). This effort to develop a self-sufficient economic bloc constitutes a menace to all free trade, including American trade with both China and Japan. Once established, the economic sinews of this totalitarian economy would increase the political power of Japan's militarists and strengthen their military machine for more ambitious expansionism and wars. The Far East, under Japan's aegis, would be tied in directly with the Berlin-Rome axis in Europe — the combination being a threat to America's military security.

Our Neutrality Act has aided the aggressors for three years — both negatively and positively. In the Far East, during the first fifteen months of the war, we sold about 14 million dollars' worth of *finished munitions* to China and about 11 million dollars' worth to Japan — but we also sold at least \$200,000,000 worth of *essential war materials* to Japan. If the Neutrality Act had been enforced, China would have been unable to buy the finished munitions (mandatory embargo), while Japan would have still bought its essential war materials (under the discretionary "cash-and-carry provision"). Our protest notes to Japan, the 25 million dollar loan to China, the further extension of dollar exchange against China's gold reserves — all these indicate a change in policy. They must be carried much further to be made effective. The decisions reached by Congress in the next few months will have a determining influence on American policy — and this, in turn, will largely decide the degree to which Britain and France will take action in the Far East.

DISCUSSION

Questions and Discussion

1. How does China get supplies from abroad?

a. Soviet route in the northwest unaffected.

b. Indo-China route has apparently been cut off to a great extent. France appears to have reached an agreement with Japan.

c. Chinese are building an alternative route. Motor road from Burmese border to Yunnanfu is just

coming into operation. American motor trucks bought under present U. S. loan will go over this route. However, China needs to get only heavy munitions from abroad. China has her own arsenal for small arms.

Molly Yard suggested a concrete discussion of what has been done and should be done on the campus in connection with aid for China.

Bisson: (brief discussion of military situation) Japan controls a rich area of China, but does not control the strategic military area of north and west. The present drive in southern Shansi is very important: its success would split China into two parts and cut off Russian supplies. There is a false argument that China will absorb Japanese. The Japanese don't intend to settle in China as did former barbarian tribes. There are possibilities of a crack-up in Japan. We should not be too optimistic about this, but strikes are apparently increasing and trade union organization appears to be growing stronger. There is a weaker morale in the Japanese army.

CHINA IS UNITED

China is united and there is no likelihood of a collapse of Chinese morale. Any waverers such as Wang Ching Wei have no popular support.

2. What would the effect of an American embargo on Japan be on Japan?

Mr. Bisson: (1) Our cutting of supplies would not prevent Japan from getting supplies from other sources. However, we have been selling Japan over 1-2 of her supplies and she would certainly be affected seriously.

(2) Present armaments boom has created a "sellers' market". Japan would not be so good a risk for a foreign seller as would Britain or France.

(3) Our withdrawal would put powerful pressure on Britain and France.

Molly Yard — ASU must carry on campaign for the embargo, boycott and Far Eastern Student Fund. Whether these are carried on as a unit or are done separately or are done by the ASU alone or by all organizations, depends on the actual campus situation.

American students do not understand that what China stands for is precisely what we want in foreign and domestic policy.

Wherever I went in China as a member of the International Student Delegation, I pledged that the American students would keep up their work for China and I knew it would be done. An embargo does not mean war. If Japan cannot conquer China, how can she start a war with us. China does not ask us to fight Japan; she simply wants us to stop helping Japan.

South Philadelphia High School — ASU has introduced a Peace Club and established a Penny-a-Day Club for China in a girl's school nearby.

Cornell — We found that ASU girls at Cornell were wearing silk stockings, and, therefore, instituted a campaign against it. How is it that so many girls at the Convention are wearing silk? This should be brought up on the floor at Convention.

Hunter College — Education is necessary. Suggestion that the boycott be brought up on the floor.

Ruth Jaffee — Hunter — At a meeting of 2,000 girls at which Dr. Judd spoke, there was tremendous enthusiasm, never before seen. We've been backward about the entire campaign. This issue is much broader than that of Spain. Lisle stockings are sold at Student Ex-

change, and were sold out on the day of Judd's speech. A teacher-student embargo committee was organized.

Howard — This problem is of particular importance to the Negro people. The Garvey movement has tried to make Negroes believe that Japan is the champion of darker races. We have not succeeded in countering this propaganda.

Boston — Said they had conducted successful movement for China. Is silk used in clothing other than stockings different from that in stockings? No, but stockings are the main point.

FAR EASTERN STUDENT SERVICE FUND

Molly Yard—Perhaps the best approach is to start a campaign for Far Eastern Service Fund, almost all of which will go to Far Eastern Students and some of which will go to Japanese Student Christian Movement. The Far Eastern Student Service Fund has an excellent Speaker's Bureau, which can be applied to for speakers.

South Carolina — Described campaign to raise money for China. As a Negro student, I believe that the Negro people should be shown that they must unite with other oppressed peoples. It is very important that the Spain and China fund campaigns should not conflict. Motion that ASU should set aside a week for China.

Pennsylvania — General problem was discussed at ASU training school. It was decided that where Spain drive had been carried on effectively, it should be continued; where not, China Aid would be important work. The ASU must involve the rest of its campus on the Far Eastern program in collection of funds. We should show how illogical it is to collect funds and supply munitions to Japan at same time.

Chicago — If all aid campaigns are combined, the difficulty of conflicting campaigns is avoided.

Swarthmore — A chest fund drive every year is carried on by the administration. Students check on a card the use they wish made of their contributions.

Loh Tsei — Chinese students regard American students as champions of peace and democracy. The Embargo is most important issue. Description of support of West Coast longshoremen for stopping shipments to Japan. Write Congressmen. Pass resolutions. We are facing a critical period from now to beginning of May.

WHY REFUGEES?

Chairman: ROBERT E. LANE, Harvard

A refugee from Germany spoke to the commission on the sufferings of the refugees both in Germany and the hardships they experience in the rehabilitation which they must undergo when they enter another country. The problem of family disintegration was stressed and it was pointed out that there are many people in Germany who would like to get out but are not able to because of financial reasons. It was pointed out that this is the first time in history where even children have become the victims of a political system.

The background of the refugee question was discussed with the final result that the commission felt the causes for the refugee problem are as follows:

1. The need for the Fascist government in Germany to find an economic and political scapegoat in the face of deplorable economic conditions resulting from Germany's loss of the World War.

2. Many youth joined the National Socialist party of Germany in the hope that it would give them courage and not suspecting the turn that the National Socialist party did take. For this reason they were engulfed in a movement from which it became impossible to separate themselves later.

3. The separation of the various political elements in Germany and the absence of an united democratic front aided the National Socialist party in establishing its reign of terror for all those not in accordance with its views.

A motion was entertained and passed stating that the discussion following would be limited to learning specifically how the American Student Union acting as a group could help refugees from China and European nations.

Reports were given by the various college and high school delegates on how they had raised funds and obtained cooperation from students, faculty and other interested groups on the problems of refugees.

Through the use of teas, socials, dances, and various other activities such as athletics, money can be raised for the victims of oppression.

Robert E. Lane, the chairman, spoke specifically on how the campus should be approached on the problem of the refugee. He asserted that youth should be made to realize that here was a vital youth problem which should be solved by youth by concrete aid in the form of scholarships in order to enable these students to continue their education. Mr. Lane stressed too the fact that the American Student Union should recognize the refugee problem as one which concerns the entire campus and should therefore engage and seek the cooperation of all campus groups in furthering a program of aid. The fact that there is an anti-fascist front which can be built up from this problem was emphasized.

RESOLUTIONS

1. That the American Student Union cooperate with other student groups on the campus in refugee aid, and seek to secure united fund-raising for victims of aggression through campus community chests for aid to Spanish, Chinese and European refugees in general.

2. That the American Student Union go on record as asking President Roosevelt and Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, to sever economic and diplomatic relations with Germany and Italy until the persecutions cease.

3. That until such action is accomplished, the American Student Union go on record as favoring the boycott of Germany, Japan, and Italy.

4. And finally, that the American Student Union commend the action of Bolivia for its action in offering territory for German refugees to settle upon.

HIGH SCHOOL PEACE COUNCILS

Chairman: ABE POLISAR, A. Lincoln H. S., N. Y. C.

1. The chairman introduced:

Mrs. C. Geiser, Chairman of the Faculty Advisers Committee for the New York City High School Chapters, who led the discussion.

Present at the panel were delegates from the New York City high schools, delegates from Boston, Philadelphia, Newark, and Chicago.

II. TALK BY MRS. GEISER

Mrs. Geiser opened the discussion by pointing out that there were two major problems involved:

- (1) Problems of existing Peace Councils—mainly New York City.
- (2) Problems of building Peace Councils where none exist (mainly outside of New York City).

Around the first question she proposed the following questions for discussion:

- (a) What kind of peace activities should there be that would involve the greatest number of students?
- (b) What organizational form should they take? Are Peace Councils the best forms?
- (c) If there are to be councils how should they function? Can they meet in an emergency? Do they have power for concrete action—e. g. raise money for aid to refugees, aid to China, to Spain?
- (d) Peace Assemblies—
 1. In what respect have they been positive factors for peace education and not merely the relating of the horrors of war?
 2. Should there be a student chairman?
 3. Should peace assemblies have the right to pass resolutions?
- (e) How can the local chapter of the American Student Union correlate its peace activities with the work of the Peace Councils?

III. REPORT OF ABE POLISAR

a. The origin of the Peace Council

In 1936 with the aid of the parents association, leaders of the churches in the community and other citizens the students were permitted to have a peace assembly April 27th. Later the Board of Education set this day aside for all schools for the purpose of holding peace assemblies. At this first assembly at the Abraham Lincoln High School a Peace Council was set up to run the assembly. This became a permanent body.

b. The composition of the Peace Council

It is made up of representatives of the Honor Society, the Social Science Clubs and the General Organization. There are two faculty advisers, the chairman of the English department and the chairman of the Social Science department. Within the council there is full democracy.

c. Accomplishments of the Peace Council

1. The publication of a peace bulletin which is received by all the students in the school. The bulletin articles reflect the varied opinions on particular situation. For example: during the recent Czech crisis three types of articles appeared, an article on peace at any price, an article for collective security and an article listing the facts of aggression.

9. What has the role of the ASU chapter been with respect to the Peace Council?

The members of the ASU have been the most active and persistent members of the council. They took the initiative on many issues, wrote articles for the bulletin, spoke in assemblies.

e. Suggestions for improving peace work

1. Make the councils more democratic by having representation from all the clubs
2. Have special courses on peace in the English and Social Science classes

3. Publish a term magazine
4. Have more frequent assemblies on this problem.

IV. DISCUSSION

1. Discussion centered around the problem of organizing a peace council. A delegate from Boston asked about this. Delegates suggested that when there are enough students interested, they should go see the principal for permission. Boston delegates thought that if the earlier method of strike was so successful why not use it again? Discussion showed that today there was greater possibility of achieving assemblies without antagonizing the administration. On the question of what kind of peace assemblies, it was suggested that they work towards assemblies that not only show the horrors of war but are followed by an analysis with a concrete program for peace. The delegate from Thomas Jefferson High School reported that the Peace Council at her school is trying to form an inter-schools peace council. The delegate from the Evander Childs High School, N. Y. C., reported that the members of the ASU are active members of the Welfare Committee which functions in the place of a peace council.
2. The delegate from Hyde Park High School, Chicago, reported that while they have not established a specific peace council, a club called the Student Forum, takes the place of the council. The delegate reported the recent Nov. 11th assembly was distinctive from past assemblies in that no R.O.T.C. awards were given and that instead of the usual "super" patriotic speakers of the past the speaker was well informed and advocated "quarantining the aggressor". However, the Forum was not a substitute for a regular peace council since its activities covered too wide a field and hence not enough time was devoted to peace work. It was suggested by the other delegates that a special committee within the Student Forum be set up which would be responsible for peace work and could lay the basis for the formation of a definite peace council in the school.
3. A Philadelphia delegate reported that in his school the student government was democratic, and that there is a Peace Club. Fifteen ASU'ers helped form this club with the aid of a liberal teacher who sponsored it. They have a charter from student government. At every meeting they have interesting speakers.
Discussion showed that both these two forms of clubs could become the basis for the formation of a school Peace Council and that wherever peace councils do not exist, it is possible to aid in their formation through existing clubs.
4. The delegate from Thomas Jefferson High School, N. Y. C., reported that their council has been enlarged and is now more representative of the student body. It is more democratic; it has three faculty advisers each with different points of view; it has a special committee at work on a peace exhibit to appear in the school library; its forum committee is responsible for assembly programs.
5. The delegate from Boston reported that the high school set up is extremely undemocratic; its general organization does nothing; there are no current events clubs, forums or means by which prob-

lems of the present day world might be discussed. They can not even have a basket-ball team. The principal refuses any cooperation; hence, the thought of the council is impossible, unless, perhaps if they organize a strike. Advice given to the Boston delegate by the other delegates: strikes weren't called just like that. It is necessary to make the students in the school conscious of the need for clubs. If clubs in school are not possible ask the assistance of outside adult groups in churches, Y's, etc. Parents must become interested in helping students achieve forum types of clubs in schools. Suggest formation of a club that will study the contributions that Boston and Massachusetts have made in the building of American democracy. It was learned that not all the schools in Boston have such complete censorship.

6. The delegate from the George Washington High School, N. Y. C. suggested that Boston work on the immediate problems of the students such as the fact that they have not been allowed even to organize a school basket-ball team although all of the students or at least most of the students are interested in this idea.
7. The delegate from the Central High School, Philadelphia, said that the Boston delegate should work first of all towards interesting students in more passive issues; that the ASU will grow only as it talks about and acts upon these things that affect the students most directly. She suggested that to use the historic traditions of Boston, they organize "Town Hall" meetings.
8. The delegate from the Von Steuben High School in Chicago reported that the ASU members helped organize a peace assembly where the film "Heart of Spain" was shown. There was a splendid response on the part of both the students and the teachers. Their club, the Student Forum, has issued a peace ballot. This will enable the club to determine the sentiment of the student body and on the basis of this ballot their future discussions and actions will be determined.

V. SUMMARY

Before the closing of the panel, Mrs. Geiser suggested that the delegates from each district get together and on the basis of the discussion's present a list of suggestions for future work. This committee activity resulted in the following suggestion:

A. SUGGESTIONS FROM NEW YORK DELEGATION

1. Aid in the formation of an interscholastic Peace Council.
2. Suggest that all Peace Councils issue monthly peace messages to each student.
3. Work for more democratic organization of the Peace Councils by having representation from every organized activity in the school, these representatives to be elected by the members of these activities.
4. Make term surveys and reports of student opinion on peace problems.
5. Give active support to Board of Education program for peace assemblies twice a term and to the monthly assemblies on "Tolerance."
6. Urge that Peace Councils be given the right to pass resolutions, to assist in collection of money

for aid to oppressed people, e.g. refugees, clothing, food and medical aid for Spain and China.

7. Council to participate in planning peace activities in the school, including suggestions on curriculum, assemblies, publications, etc.
8. Councils should be given right to act in emergencies in order either to issue bulletins, or call for special assemblies whenever such a situation arises, e.g. as the recent events in Germany, in Czecho-Slovakia, and elsewhere.

B. SUGGESTIONS FROM PHILADELPHIA DELEGATION

- I. How To Organize a Peace Club or Council
 - a. Get students interested
 - b. Get a liberal teacher to sponsor group
 - c. Ask for charter by presenting ideas to principal or person in charge
 - d. Start advertising
 - e. Give students a program that is unique and interesting.
- II. Program of Peace Club or Council
 - a. Initiate Peace assemblies
 - b. Have representatives from every school club
 - c. Have peace books introduced into school library
 - d. Have speakers on peace at club meetings
 - e. Have discussions on peace in every class, where possible.
- III. If the formation of a Peace Club is Denied, What Should Be Done?

Visit leading members of the community and place the problem before them. Ask their assistance in securing a club.

C. SUGGESTIONS FROM BOSTON DELEGATION, NEWARK AND CHICAGO

1. Organize a series of educational meetings on peace, health, science, to be held in community houses of the Y's or churches.
2. Try to secure the cooperation of Parent-Teachers Associations, Teachers Union, Trade Unions and Church Groups in order to organize such meetings.
3. Try to secure cooperation of teachers, principals, the School Committee, legislators, educators, to the end that students may be able to hold peace assemblies and forums.
4. Organize study groups to study the principles of democracy as specifically shown in the past history of Boston.
5. Work towards organizing "Town Hall" meetings with progressive speakers and ASU speakers on local problems, such as health problems, recreational facilities for students.
6. Whereas questionnaires are passed among students concerning history, housing problems, we will try to include questions on peace problems by having a committee of students work with those teachers on the questionnaire committee.

NEUTRALITY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

Chairman: MARK HOPKINS, *Ohio District Secy., ASU*

Guest Speaker: CLARK M. EICHELBERGER, *Director, League of Nations Association*

A foreign policy of bold, vigorous leadership on the

part of the United States is the only way in which the peace, democracy and prosperity of the United States can be preserved and the world brought to a condition of permanent and dynamic peace. This bold leadership must be expressed in efforts to stop aggression; to develop constructive policies for world economic and social justice; and to revitalize the League of Nations.

In 1919, the United States held the dominant position in the world. It had turned the tide of victory; it was a strong creditor; entering the World War without territorial desires, it had suggested a new order of international society which was to make a return to anarchy and war impossible. The United States won the war and lost the peace. The American people reacting unfavorably to intimate contact with the rest of the world believed once more they could loose themselves in the expanses of their own territory. They retreated into isolation from which they have been only recently rapidly emerging.

The result of this policy to the United States has been to increase its sense of insecurity and plunge it into a world economic depression. The results to the world have been to weaken the League of Nations which could not fulfill the dreams of its founders without American cooperation and to prevent the processes of peaceful change. All nations must bear their share of responsibilities for the retreat from the ideals of world cooperation, but the neutrality of the United States has been the greatest tragedy of the post-war period.

We live in a world hovering between a retreat to anarchy which because of the increase in means of destruction and the increased sensitivity of its economic life means suicide, and an advance to an international society strong enough to prevent war and wise enough to remove its causes. The crisis is growing increasingly acute. It would seem that we have but a few months to use methods short of war to stop aggression; we have but a few months to inaugurate those constructive policies of cooperation necessary to build an orderly and just world.

If we lose this opportunity, the forces of destruction will become so strong that moral and economic means will not be sufficient and war may be forced upon us in which it may be necessary for us to fight almost singlehanded. What a tragedy it would be if the American isolationists and neutralists who are so afraid of leadership and cooperation for fear it might lead to war would be responsible for letting peaceful opportunities pass by and war forced upon us.

The only foreign policy possible for the nations of the world today is a policy of *collective responsibility*. This involves collective responsibility for security; collective responsibility for international, economic and social justice; collective responsibility for developing the institutions of peace capable of executing the first two.

Collective security and international justice are the complements of each other. The first is impossible without provisions for peaceful change, but it is equally foolish to believe that international justice is possible in a world where international gangsters dictate the policies of some nations without resistance to force.

I am more and more convinced that the United States is the only nation that can give vigorous leadership in these three phases of collective responsibility. Much of the rest of the world is very tired. After Munich, certain European democracies face great risks

in challenging the treaty breakers alone. The United States producing one-third of the world's raw materials and representing youth and strength and with less of a problem of immediate security to its frontiers is the only nation that can sound an advance in the present world retreat.

The first task necessary is to assist in restoring the moral front of those who wish peace. The most constructive development of the post-war period was the dawn of world moral consciousness which led to the League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact and the policy of the Good Neighbor. The tragedy today is that this moral front has been shattered and in disillusionment nations are returning to isolation, alliances and military preparedness. The United States must find some way of helping restore this moral front for the world as Secretary Hull has succeeded in doing for the Western hemisphere.

WILLIAM HINCKLEY, *Youth Peace Lobby of the American League for Peace and Democracy.*

I know that most of you were not able to attend the coming out party of Brenda Duff Frazier a couple of days ago, and so for your benefit, I would like to announce coming out party, the ushers at this coming-out party will be Joe Lash, Bob Spivack, and myself, and it will take place in Washington on January 6.

I feel very strongly that a large number of ASU members should be present at this lobby, because the ASU in the past has been one of social security program, as shown by the past two pilgrimages for jobs and education.

This is a lobby for peace. We shall be talking to officials of the State Department, Senators, and Congressmen about all of the items of the program which you have already adopted as your ASU program for this year. We will be asking them their views and urging them to work with our support for non-participation of the United States in Japanese aggression. We shall be asking them to undertake to inaugurate changes of America's foreign policy so that that policy will distinguish between aggressors and victims of aggression and embargo goods and war materials to aggressors only. I think that most of you who were in the Neutrality Session know some of the aspects of neutrality legislation that we had discussed there.

We are also going to discuss the relief policies of the government. I am sure that some of your NEC members will be in Washington to take care of student interests as far as the relief program is concerned. There should be a tremendous barrage of wires, telegrams and letters from all of America and we are relying particularly upon you. We have a pretty good team in Washington, and I ask the ASU to take the initiative to get members to come to Washington on January 6 and 7 to talk to your Congressmen, influence them, get their ideas for yours, particularly if theirs do not conform with yours, and see that the legislative program which you have drafted becomes a reality. This does not take the place of the work that you are going to do when you get back to the campus, but it does do a lot immediately.

In the meantime, if you cannot get to Washington on January 6 and 7, it would be a very fine idea for every ASU member to send a personal letter or a telegram or to see that a particular class sends a petition to each of the Congressmen and Senators from the dis-

tricts in which your colleges are situated.

CAN DEMOCRACY SURVIVE?

Continued from Page 56

of Communists, as of all others, to carry on their agitation. The laws aimed against them are either not enforced or have been curbed by court decisions. The Communist Party, too, has changed its tactics and today is a supporter of all democratic and progressive movements.

But the primary issues of civil liberty affect not the struggle of labor nor of radical parties to carry on their propaganda, but the three great means of communication by which public opinion is swayed—the radio, the movies, and the press. With these three great agencies of mass education in the hands of growing monopolies, public opinion tends to be dominated by defenders of the status quo. The Civil Liberties Union is proposing to make those agencies far more democratic in their responsiveness to the currents of public opinion by requiring that controversial issues shall be given fair play on the air in precisely the same way as candidates for political office are now given equal facilities by law; by abolishing the public censorship of motion pictures, which both on political and moral grounds largely control the selection and treatment of subjects; and by taking away from the Post Office Department its present power to exclude from the mails any matter which a single lawyer may regard as obscene or seditious. We would place this power where it has so successfully worked to determine the character of matter imported from abroad, namely, in the hands of juries representing the judgment of citizens, not of bureaucratic officials.

CIVIL RIGHTS FOR MINORITIES

Minorities whose rights are restricted by law and by public opinion, need the defense of enlightened legislation in line with our constitutional guarantees. The chief minority groups are Negroes and aliens, both discriminated against in law and public opinion. The rights of aliens, to their political views should be as clearly recognized as the rights of citizens. Men and women escaping foreign tyrannies should not be excluded from the United States or deported from it merely because of the views they hold. Negroes should not be segregated or denied the right to vote, to get an education, or to marry because of their color. Such a conception of justice demands far reaching changes in law and opinion to make real their civil rights.

Pressure upon the whole teaching profession, as expressed in the loyalty oath laws of recent years, has been exerted on teachers and pupils alike. If children are to be trained in democracy such laws should be repealed. Legislators are not educators. The schools alone are capable of determining the education concerned with the preservation of our democratic liberties demands participation in the struggle to deny rights to those most hated and feared by the defenders of the status quo. Democracy means progress. Progress means change. And change, if political democracy is to be real, is weighed heavily on the side of those who produce and consume the wealth of our land as against those who merely own. On the success of that struggle for industrial democracy depends the salvation of political democracy and the avoidance of the tragic perils of violence, fascism, and civil war.

The World That Will Give Us Peace

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29

2:00 - 4:30 P. M.

Discussion on Section III continued.

Sam Sadin—CCNY 23 St.

Amendment—The policy decided upon by the NEC be submitted to the chapters for approval in the form of a referendum.

Jack Cottin and Leonore Thompson withdraw their amendments.

Larry Levy—Harvard.

Amendment I to guarantee that the military apparatus in the United States shall not be used against the people.

Amendment II if that foreign policy is effective in checking aggression, then the need for armaments, will be lessened.

Jerry Johnson—CCNY Main Evening.

I don't think that the proposed resolution has any teeth; it is much too general.

Amendment—1. We oppose M-day plans for industrial mobilization of the United States.

2. We oppose a sky-rocketing of the military budget. We recognize the necessity for a military budget adequate for the general defense, and urge the transfer of all additional funds to the W. P. A.

3. We favor the democratization of the American armed forces.

This amendment was called out of order because its provisions were incorporated in other amendments and resolutions.

ARMAMENTS DUE TO AGGRESSION

Mark Hopkins, Ohio District Secretary, ASU.

The opponents of the ASU program attribute the armaments program now going on as the only logical outcome of the ASU peace policy. This is not so. The reason armaments are necessary today is because aggression has not been checked by other means. Until we can assure the people of this world that their lives are safe from aggression, we cannot urge them to disarm. When the danger of fascist aggression has disappeared, we can embark on a program of disarmament. I don't think that the American people are going to be convinced that such a danger does not exist.

Robin Meyers:

I am here today no longer as a student but as a representative of another organization so that you may feel that the question that I am about to ask of you is a little presumptuous. I feel, however, that I have a right to ask this question, because I helped organize an ASU chapter on a campus over two years, because I am today the National Student Director of a group working within the schools, The Young People's Socialist League.

Did you see last year, when you adopted a concerted action policy, that you would be calling for armaments today? Do you know that tomorrow you are going to be saying "war?" Do you know that the people of this country went into the last war to protect democracy? Do you think that democracy is protected or extended by schools or battleships? Can't you read all the facts of history which say that you are rushing toward war and fascism? I ask you to stop and to consider. There is something you can do which can give us social se-

curity and the good things that the ASU has fought for. Stop and think before you head for war.

Bert Witt, N. Y. District Secretary, ASU.

If you go outside and read tonight's newspapers, you will discover, if the news were to be written by some people who have spoken here today, that the Spanish Republican Army has laid down its arms, that the military budget of the Spanish government has been wiped out, that the war industries have been abandoned, that they are building three million new schools in Spain, and Franco is the Minister of Education. There are cases in this world, and they exist now in Spain and China, in which the defense of democracy by arms is as important as the defense of democracy by schools. This is what we are trying to understand, without being rushed into anything.

U. S. MENACED AT HOME AND ABROAD

I was sorry that Miss Thompson withdrew her resolution. Her resolution has one fallacy in that it says that the threat to American democracy comes not from abroad but from within. The threat to American democracy comes from both abroad and within. We must realize that Munich brought a tremendous wave of Nazi aggression and penetration all through Latin America, and the whole struggle between the forces of democracy and the fascist axis rose to a greater pitch. Inside this country there is a similar struggle, and it reached a great pitch in the 1938 elections, with the Republicans as the main spearhead of reaction. Who was it, the day after Munich, who said that Munich meant peace—Herbert Hoover. And who was it that said, after Hull's calling for the Lima conference, that there is no danger of fascist penetration in South America—aside from Robin Meyers—Herbert Hoover.

I hope we can work out some way to say in this resolution that you can build up thousands of schools, and you can build your armaments up to the sky—but both will be of no value unless we make America a force for peace, with a new deal at home and abroad.

Capsie Russell, Rockford College.

I should like to be able to see world disarmament today as much as anyone, but until we have such a world that we can give up armaments, not as one nation, but as a body of nations, we cannot talk of disarmament. We have reached this policy or final judgment upon the situation with thought behind what we say. I agree entirely, with the Rockford College Union behind me, with what has just been said by Bert Witt.

Stevenson, Antioch College.

Following through what Mr. Witt said, I think that one of the main problems before us now is to find out what the balance should be between a struggle against reaction at home and abroad.

I also believe that this should be brought before the joint committee which is studying the problem. I move that the committees which are studying the problem of armaments make some balance between the fight against external fascism and internal fascism as one of the basic parts of the whole program.

Oliver Stone.

I agree heartily with Bert Witt and with the very last motion that one of the issues which confronts us this time is just what relative importance we attach

to internal and external fascism. Does fascism threaten us primarily at home, or does European fascism threaten us from abroad. Which is most important? The institutions in the United States which lead to fascism are the most important. That is why, I too, along with Bert, was sorry that Miss Thompson's resolution was withdrawn.

I wish to say something about what happened this morning. I believe that the question of armaments is inextricably bound up with foreign policy. We cannot separate the two; we must consider the two at the same time. At the same time, I think it is a great mistake to assume that anyone who opposes collective security is an isolationist. An isolationist usually denotes a rather bad meaning. It makes us think of the sense in which Borah is an isolationist.

Harvard Observer:

In 1914-1917 the U. S. took a road which led to war. Out of the war came peace which condemned war. Now a program advocated by this resolution is the same as advocated in 1917. Stop the Kaiser! Stop fascism! What we need is not a negative program but a positive program with this in mind. I suggest the following: that this statement be clarified to support the forces of peace, and that we say exactly what we mean by "support the forces of peace."

Bill Chambers, Harvard:

Once upon a time there was a leader of government who opposed social reforms in his land, who opposed the 40 hour week, who revised the tax schedule by decree so that it exempted the financial interests. Only a few weeks before that man sat at a table with Hitler and Mussolini.

Once upon a time there was another leader of a government who refused to call parliament at the height of an international crisis. He was the other man who sat at the table with the two dictators.

The point I am trying to make is simply this: it would be totally false to distinguish in any way between extending democracy at home and abroad. It would be totally false to separate the two, to believe that there is a point at which the two contradict each other. Yesterday the ASU considered making America a nation which would satisfy human needs. Today we are discussing how to ensure a world that will permit America to fulfill these desires. We cannot make false distinctions between these two objectives.

Antioch:

I believe that by this time all points of view have been presented. I move the question.

Amendment to resolution: by Bert Witt and Leonore Thompson. Insert after —first line of national defense for the United States *must be a domestic and foreign policy which serves human needs and human rights.* Question is called.

VOTING FIGURES:

Oliver Stone's Sub. FOR—16 AGAINST—358.

Amendment of H. Stevenson. FOR 54, AGAINST 320.

Larry Levy's Amendment, 1st—FOR: 292, AGAINST 11; 2nd—FOR: 291, AGAINST 46.

Witt-Thompson Amendment. FOR: 372, AGAINST: 2.

Amendment for referendum—FOR: 320, AGAINST: 36.

Resolution plus amendments—FOR: 368 AGAINST: 20.

THE ROTC AND PEACE

Section IV:

We know and welcome the fact that the students in the ROTC share a concern for peace and democracy that is as strong as that of the campus as a whole. We cannot, however, disregard the many instances in which ROTC manuals, instructors and exercises have demonstrated an anti-labor and anti-democratic bias. Nor do we believe that in a country which as a whole has seen no need for universal conscription, that there should be universal conscription for college students, which is the case where ROTC is compulsory. We are mindful as well of the merits in the argument that militarism is out of place in the educational system. We therefore urge that ROTC be made optional. We request that the ROTC undertake a review of its material and syllabi and personnel so that there may be no doubt of the devotion of the ROTC to democracy.

Antioch—Why are we not opposed to the ROTC altogether?

SUPPORT NYE-KVALE BILL

Seward—Amendment—There be added to the original resolution "we support the Nye-Kvale bill".

Bklyn: In fighting the ROTC, we're fighting against business people, against the legion, and all other elements which are reactionary. We must admit to all individuals the right to express their point of views. However, I think of democracy as a system in which the individuals are influenced by groups which have certain opinions to bring forth. The ROTC would influence students adversely.

McGill Univ., Canada: Although the government does not represent completely those things for which you aim, yet, you do not, for that reason, attempt to overthrow it. You attempt to bring it around to your point of view. We should apply these technics in the matter of the ROTC. If it isn't democratic, we should not stamp it out. We should make it a fortress of democracy on the campus. It can aid the ASU rather than stand in its way.

If you are to have any armaments at all which are effective, you need officers. The ROTC or any organization to train officers is essential.

ROTC member—Since in a great many schools, college students are really progressive, progressive officers will come out of the ROTC. If we want to win the unity of all the democratic forces, we should try to win the ROTC too.

Several delegates who were members of the ROTC spoke for the resolution, stating that the present attitude of ASU toward the ROTC was antagonizing many ROTC boys.

Lillian Herlich: The American Student Union is becoming not a fortress of democracy, but a fortress for democracy. Now we're changing our stand on the ROTC. Is this relevant to the different conditions in the country? We are against any organization of the ROTC as the militarization of the campus. I would like to make an amendment, "And should urge the abolition of the ROTC where it does exist." (Since Miss Herlich was not a delegate to the convention, but merely an observer, she could not make any motions.)

Vote taken on Section IV plus amendment to support Nye-Kvale Bill.

FOR 384—Against 36.

ARMS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Section V:

The American Student Union urges continual vigilance against M-Day plans which under the guise of mobilization needs would suspend civil liberties and oppress labor. We caution against any identification of relief needs with armaments and will oppose measures which would sacrifice relief and social security to an armaments program.

Question called. Vote FOR: 350, AGAINST: 4.

PEACE EDUCATION

Section VI:

The American Student Union re-dedicates itself the education of the campus on the issues of peace and foreign policy and the integration of such education with action through measures sponsored by the United Student Peace Committee, through campaigns for humanitarian aid for Spain and China, through efforts to raise funds for refugee students from Central Europe.

Question called — Favored Unanimously.

STUDENT PILOTS

Section VII:

The American Student Union welcomes the announcement made yesterday of an experimental program in the training of student pilots and the appropriation of \$100,000 for this purpose. We will watch this experiment closely to see that it is kept under civilian control, that students are not excluded from it because of belief, creed or color. Finally, we believe that it should be an integral part of the NYA program which has demonstrated its real concern for the welfare of our youth.

Joe Lash: I think that so long as the people control that one vital arm, aviation, so long as it is we who are the pilots of the planes, those planes will not be used against us. If we let the wealthy have a monopoly on air training someday those planes will be used against the people.

Evander: I move that the discussion be tabled, that it be presented with an authority on the subject.

Vote: delegates voted against tabling.

Ken Born: Include a statement to the effect that in no way should such appropriation detract from the other worthwhile projects of the NY. This will in no way place on one way the question of social security and on the other way the question of national defense.

Molly Yard:—I am for this proposal for two reasons. The first of these is due to events throughout the world of the past few years—events which neither you nor I like but which we must face. I refer to the invasion of China by a superior military force, and the revolt in Spain where the armed forces turned against their people. Both these events have caused terrific slaughter. In China during the early days of the war thousands upon thousands of civilians were needlessly killed, because there were not enough trained pilots to go into the air to ward off the attackers. Finally through the daring exploits of a few pilots who succeeded in downing enemy planes, many young men of China gained confidence and joined the air force. China still needs more pilots, but the situation is far better; and I know how eternally grateful we all were in Hankow when the air raid signal sounded and then we heard plane after plane go into the air to protect the city and its occupants.

It seems fantastic to think we need to be concerned

about air defense. Yet completely fantastic things are happening in this world! One of the important things about the pilot proposal is that it is not a military one but is part of youth service. Control rests with civilians we know and trust and not with the military caste who have been responsible for the reactionary activities of the ROTC. We can be these 20,000 pilots and not let them be those who can be turned against us!

The second reason I am for the proposal is that it concerns itself with the problem of training youth for jobs. It is a vocational training. We need more attention paid to vocational training and this is a good step in that direction.

Sol Rosner—Philadelphia: Amendment — The ASU congratulates the Civilian Aeronautics Association for this step.

Jerry Johnson—City Main Eve: This proposal does not belong on the Peace Program. I move that this particular resolution not be included in the peace program of the ASU.

Chicago: In defeating the motion to table, we have dumped into our laps the problem of deciding an issue pro or con. We have no information about this plan except two columns of copy that appeared on the front page of a newspaper yesterday which may, of course, be very exact but nonetheless, I don't believe that on these facts we can make a decision. I don't believe all the delegates here can really decide pro or con. We're taking a very important step. We're going to make a very important decision and I don't think that we are prepared to make that decision.

OUR KIND OF STUDENTS

Bill Chambers: I see grave danger in this plan. I think it is very important and I have been silent on it for a long time because I have been thinking and reconsidering my position on it. I want to think first of all, about a man. His name is Aubrey Williams — we all know him. He knows us. He is a progressive — the director of the National Youth Administration. I want to think of the type of students who are in the NYA. They are our kind of students — not wealthy, poor in terms of material things. They are rich in terms of their belief in democracy, and their convictions. I want to think finally of how we go about seeing that a plan that may be carried out by a government agency is carried out by civilians. I urge that we approve this plan, point out its dangers, and work with the administrator, in whom we believe. I said that I saw grave danger in this plan. I do not think it is impossible that we may have to face what the Spanish people had to face unprepared. If we have to face it, let's face it prepared. I see greater danger in not adopting this resolution.

Question was called: Jerry Johnson's motion was ruled out of order, since the delegation has not yet voted on whether it wants the resolution adopted at all. If the resolution is adopted, then a motion to remove it from the peace program is in order.

Substitute Motion: The ASU go on record as being opposed to the plan.

FOR: 79—AGAINST: 249.

Ken Born's Amendment: FOR: 218, AGAINST: 17.

Rosner Amendment: FOR: 218, AGAINST: 17.

Vote on Resolution plus amendments: FOR: 256, AGAINST: 72.

Jerry Johnson: I move that this section VIII be separated from the Peace Resolutions and be considered

as a separate resolution in itself.

Question called—Vote to separate.

FOR: 310, AGAINST: 7.

COMPLETE PEACE PROGRAM OF THE ASU

Section I — The American Student Union is vitally concerned with the maintenance and the continuance of free institutions, for only under such conditions can culture flourish and youth achieve its fullest heritage. Our efforts to have democracy adequately serve human needs in the United States cannot be divorced from the struggle to restore and strengthen peace in the world.

The American Student Union believes that the people and government of the United States can and must make a positive contribution to the struggle for peace and democracy throughout the world by embargoing war materials and supplies to aggressor nations and by refusing to give moral aid to those aggressor nations which seem determined to engulf the entire world in war.

We urge a democratically controlled foreign policy enacted in legislation that would halt American participation in Japanese aggression; that would lift the embargo on the legitimate government in Spain; that would not reward aggression and penalize the victims of such aggression.

The American Student Union applauds the recall of our Ambassador from Germany and the prompt repudiation of Germany's impudent protest of Secretary Ickes' affirmation of popular sentiment. We believe that America's vigorous leadership, expressed as well in the loan to China, will do much to revive faith in democracy and peace and will strengthen the peoples of France and England in their efforts to secure a peace policy based on collaboration of democratic peoples and nations.

Section II — We are confident that vigorous leadership by the American democracy is more necessary than ever since Munich. It is for this reason that we approve the steps taken by the United States at Lima to strengthen democracy in the Western hemisphere and to unite it against aggression.

We urge education for and support of a democratic application of the Good Neighbor Policy, by which we mean non-interference in the affairs of other nations, common consultation to safeguard the Hemisphere against fascist penetration, and the carrying through of the trade agreement program in such a way as will strengthen democracy in the Western hemisphere. We recognize that there have been shortcomings in the application of the Good Neighbor Policy in the past, particularly in the case of the pressure on Mexico in the oil controversy and we wish to guard against furtherance of United States imperialism. Finally, we declare our support for the Inter-American Student Conference, which is scheduled to take place in Havana, and will do everything in our power to support the democratic movement in those Latin American countries where it is suppressed.

Section III — The American Student Union believes that the first line of national defense for the United States must be a domestic and foreign policy which serves human needs and human rights. It is for that reason that we have urged a positive foreign policy that would discourage the forces of aggression and support the forces of peace. As that foreign policy is effective in checking aggression, to that extent we limit needs for armaments. In the present circumstances, however, the American Student Union does not believe it possible to urge unilateral disarmament on the part of American democracy. We believe that disarmament can be achieved when nations act in concert to re-establish a climate of security, friendship and peace. The ASU instructs its national Executive Committee to undertake together with the NICC and the NSFA a study of what are the defense needs of the U. S. and how to guarantee that the military apparatus in the U. S. will not be used against the people, how these needs can be assured with the greatest guarantees for peace and democracy,

and with a recognition that militarism is by its nature wasteful and injurious in its effects upon human personality. The results of this study are to be submitted to the membership of the ASU in the form of a referendum.

Section IV — We know and welcome the fact that the students in the ROTC share a concern for peace and democracy as strong as that of the campus as a whole. We cannot, however, disregard the many instances in which ROTC manuals, instructors and exercises have demonstrated an anti-labor and anti-democratic bias. Nor do we believe that in a country, which as a whole has seen no need for universal conscription, there should be universal conscription for college students, which is the case where ROTC is compulsory. We are mindful as well of the merits in the argument that militarism is out of place in the educational system. We therefore urge that ROTC be made optional, and support the Nye Kvale Bill. We request that the ROTC undertake a review of its material and syllabi and personnel so that there may be no doubt of the devotion of the ROTC to democracy.

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Section VI — The American Student Union rededicates itself to the education of the campus on the issues of peace and foreign policy and the integration of such education with action through measures sponsored by the USPC, through campaigns for humanitarian aid for Spain and China, through efforts to raise funds for refugee students from Central Europe.

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CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

College members:

Charlotte Feldman	Vassar
Paul James	Temple University
Peter Henle	Swarthmore
Ruth Brandstetter	Antioch
Doris Goodman	Ohio State
T. Justis	University of Virginia
Terry Levin	Acting High School Secretary
Molly Yard	Staff
Al Sussman	Connecticut State College
Margaret Gelders	Radcliffe
William Sussman	M. I. T.
Judy Forrester	U. of Chicago
Earl Thomas	John Hopkins
Mimi Sper	U. of Michigan
Bob Harvey	Dartmouth

High School members:

David Spiro	Stuyvesant H. S.
Laura Rosenbloom	Tilden H. S.—NYC.
Joe Krevisky	Evander Childs H. S. NYC.
Thaddeus Szapiel	Central Evening H. S. Phil.
Ray Siebert	Hyde Park High School—Chicago

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Agnes Reynolds	National Staff
Dave Ross	Stuyvesant H. S. New York
Peter Kitchell	Amherst
Claire Lippman	Vassar
Theda Ostrander	Swarthmore
Frank Walters	Dartmouth
Joan Phillips	Radcliffe
Jimmy Lawson	U. of Illinois
Bernard Wolf	CCNY

A Modern College Curriculum

Address to Plenary Session by ORDDAY TEAD, *Chairman,*
Board of Higher Education, N. Y. C.

My friends:

It is with unqualified pleasure that I accept the honor of being on your platform. I regretted exceedingly that I could not have shared the distinction of being with you the morning that you opened when our splendid mayor also honored us with his presence here. I may say that my reason for not being here was that I was in Chicago at the meeting of the American Association of University Professors trying to explain to them how professors around the country may try to help make campuses true fortresses of democracy. I had the privilege, too, of conferring at luncheon with the executive officers of the American Federation of Teachers, with whom similar problems were considered.

Your chairman has asked me to discuss problems of the curriculum in the modern college from the point of view of the democratic outlook. To those of you who are going back to student government groups where there are committees at work on curriculum activities, I am especially happy to offer a few thoughts which may commend themselves to you for possible application on your own home campus.

We cannot talk about curriculum changes, of course, without knowing what it is we are trying to do in a college. I do not want to labor this point, but we cannot discuss the curriculum of a college without discussing what we are in college for and what we expect college to do for us and for society. Briefly, I see four important ways of stating the college purpose. Unquestionably, the college exists to stir in people and to stimulate in people greater intellectual mastery, greater power of reflection, greater deliberative efficiency, on the assumption that we need terribly in the world more people equipped to face the problems of life rationally.

Another way of putting what college is about is that we are anxious to come out with a sense of what it is that is good in life. How do we appraise what is qualitatively worth seeking and struggling for at all? Unless college makes us aware of the best that has been thought and said and done in the past and in the present, we have no standards with which to face the confusions and despairs of the modern world. We should come to know what are the elements in what has historically been called the good life.

In the third place, we have a responsibility, which I do not have to labor with you, to increase our effectiveness as citizens. And to you I say we have the peculiar responsibility of seeing to it that in our increased awareness of citizenship responsibility, we come also to realize the possibilities that the college graduates have in leadership and in training for skilled leadership in the various walks of life into which they will be plunged. Training for the role of the responsible citizen and training for the proper exercise of democratic leadership are part of the college job.

Finally, and I stress this with all the emphasis at my command, there is the responsibility for bringing us all through the college experience at least started upon a sense of what life is all about. There is far too much

in the great world about us of a utilitarian outlook upon life. Either the struggles have some meaning, some purpose, some positive results to be imputed to them, or the struggles we make are of no avail and might as well not be made. Unless the student comes out of college with some philosophy of life, in embryo at least, he might just as well be spared those four precious years in which he is set apart and given the chance to begin to understand the what and why and how of the world.

GETTING A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

In my own opinion, I may say in passing, it is at the fourth point that college education is most seriously deficient today. The philosophies of life which you have are probably more the results of deliberations and gatherings like this than they are of the formal or informal associations you may have had with your philosophy departments. It should not be so. Unless maturer minds can help you to embark upon this process of bringing to you some way of looking at life that is not one of futility and despair, college education is derelict in its major purpose.

I come from this to what kind of subjects should therefore be studied. I commend to your attention the gradual construction of a curriculum that is taking place at the newest of our own New York City colleges — Queens College. It has the splendid advantage of a clean slate, of a wholly new start being made, under the direction of a wise and mature educator. Those of you who want to know what I deem to be the beginnings of a modern college curriculum should inspect the catalog of Queens College. It is similar in important ways to the experiment being made at the University of Chicago.

In general, we have to realize that the great areas of knowledge of human, intellectual and spiritual experience must become, at least in partial view, the property of the college student. That means we must realize that there are certain essential outlooks of knowledge without which one is not educated. We have been led astray by the miscellaneous, the heterogeneous and the confusing character of the curriculum under the free elective system that most of us have been familiar with.

There should, I feel, be an introductory awareness of the natural sciences, not necessarily in the details of laboratory work, but some grasp of the methods of the natural sciences, the biological sciences, the social sciences and what are called the humanities. Science is to be viewed as the way you and I should learn to look at the characteristic major areas of human inquiry. Science is to be viewed not as a gospel, not as a creed, not as a means whereby all truth is ascertainable. Science, the scientific method, scientific research techniques are tools; they are themselves only methods; they are ways of approach for our mastery of material resources and to a certain lesser extent of human, personal and social organization. The scientists have claimed too much and we must not allow them to be too presumptuous about the role of scientific method in the total scheme of college thinking.

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HISTORY

Social sciences are not be just statistical compila-

tions, not to be objective descriptions, nor again are they to be merely a collection of sob stories. They are to be critical examinations of how all types of social organizations — family, industrial, recreational, civic — do, in fact, function and interrelate together; and an effort to consider honestly why they work as they do, and why, how and where they fall down. We have to consider how history is to be redeemed from a re-examination of the past on some objective basis. History is not merely facts. History is the effort that we are trying to make today to see our own time and our problems in proper perspective, to get a sense of the time span in which the social process works, to realize that there are various ways in which the social processes have taken place and may or may not take place again.

Our language study is not to be merely a means of polite intercourse with foreigners or of conversing in countries which you may at some future time visit. Language study is nothing if it is not the means to a greater awareness of the necessary and valuable contributions of the special genius, culture and life of a particular language group.

There is, also, a tremendous need for a revivification of philosophy, not merely in terms of the history and ideas of prominent men, not a recapitulation of somebody else's thinking about conditions which are generations old, but a study of philosophy as the effort to bring together, to synthesize out of the confusions and the miscellanies and the scatterings of the present curriculum some wisdom—to use the word philosophy in its original sense. Such efforts upon the part of a select few of the best teachers should begin to offer the understanding that we need.

I am not saying that we should all expect to leave college with a rounded, complete and final philosophy of life. The only time to complete such a formulation is when we are laid away in a six-foot black box. The effort must be rather to create in ourselves the eagerness to find significance in life's experience. The effort must be to vitalize our total outlook, and to realize in the regressions and barbarities of today, wherever they may be, not a complete and absolute return to barbarism, but an expression of temporary backwash on the stream of a civilization and of an assertion of the human spirit which goes on irrepressibly, irrevocably and cannot be denied. But we don't today get that view of the problem. It is too easy to take the short-time look. And I say again that we have a right to expect out of our college philosophers some deeper, more searching answer to our questions as to the kind of world we live in and the kind of hope we have about it, than we customarily get today.

AROUSING CURIOSITY

I am not concerned here about when, in the four-year period, the particular courses should be taken. I have, however, some general observations on the ways in which we can work on our curriculum. I do think it is important to take our first year students and plunge them at once into the dilemmas of the world, which, in the relative seclusion of the high schools, many of them have not confronted. The first year should be a curiosity-arousing year in which the intellectual problems of the world are posed so that the student who has any intellectual fibre is challenged to spend the rest of the four years working on the problems thus shaped.

Regarding the orientation or survey courses, I say that

the idea of such courses is still, despite our fumbings with it, educationally a sound idea. My own observation that the reason why survey courses have been unsuccessful has been the sloth of the college teacher to make the effort to synthesize his material with that of professors of other departments. The shortcomings of these courses argue more against faculty inertia than against the basic idea of the courses themselves.

I think we have too many subjects. Four courses in the second and third years, I think are quite enough; and in the fourth year, even three might be sufficient. I want to narrow very much the elective scheme, and make the four great bodies of human knowledge more composite, integral and required. I want a wider use of the honors system. The upper two-thirds of each class should be privileged to have less class work, more intensive study, more care in the closer relationship to teachers and the inquiry which that suggests — all to the end that when the four-year experience is over, the student has the clear mandate in his mind that the educational process has only started — the clear sense of a personal responsibility right through life to continue his intensive consideration of his special subjects.

FACULTY STUDENT COMMITTEES

How are we going to get all this? First, the curriculum will never be stronger than the teachers who give it. You cannot have liberal instruction from an illiberal faculty. Then there should be joint faculty-student organized committee work on curriculum. I have high confidence in the contribution to be made by the student share in this effort. The student makes a special kind of contribution, but it is a necessary contribution. You have the experience of being a student for only four years, and the faculty are watching it all for a longer time; and they should have wise ideas to be taken account of. Also, I would urge you not to try to copy the curriculum experiments of other colleges. There is room for many experiments in curriculum revision. We do not know what an ideal curriculum is. We must go at the problem with considerable experimentalism of attack.

One final point. Problems of curriculum organization, of course, depend upon the integrity, the courage and the vigor of the teacher. And you may well find that teachers of vigor, integrity and of stirring appeal to you, are teachers who are finding it difficult for them in their relationships and their tenure on the faculty. Where there is no shadow of doubt in your minds that a man of high attainment and of splendid ability is having his position jeopardized, student organizations have a mandate to exercise every influence they can upon protected and trustee groups to see that these men are protected in the freedom of utterance and security of position that they have.

Having said that, may I remind you that every "popular" teacher is not necessarily one that you should want to go to bat for. You will find that there are many easy markers who are far less capable of inspiring you than the hard markers and less entertaining scholars.

There are ways of getting faculty interest in curriculum modernization; there are ways of student pressure being exercised intelligently. And I urge them upon you, because I have a strong suspicion that the curriculum today does not "do right by us"! The organized student does have a vital role in curriculum consideration. The students can help to overcome the

natural lag of inertia on the part of teachers, departments and established courses. This must come through student as well as faculty stimulation.

You can help to uphold the hand of the strong teachers. You cannot do it all; and you must have some faith in the educative process that is going forward. There are aspects of the problem that are technical, and that better be left to the faculty to work out. But the fact remains that the college job is not being well enough done. You can help to do it better! You have a vital and indispensable role in salvaging the whole college experience for the revivifying of democracy and for the fulfillment of your own personal living.

COMMISSION ON SPAIN

Continued from Page 73

1. Be it resolved that we endorse and participate

The American Student Union We Want to Make

Report by AGNES REYNOLDS, Treasurer and College Secretary

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR have challenged the courage and determination of democratic peoples throughout the world; the student body of America has responded to the challenge with a new awakening, a new awareness of its role in the citizenship of our country. We can say, without boasting, that the American Student Union, because of its realistic program and its strong, active chapters throughout the country has been able to lead the student body in constant vigilance on behalf of peace in the world and forward moving democracy at home, new and constructive activities on the campus to enrich college life.

The central problem which confronts us is to make our actual membership equal to the real influence which the ASU has gained throughout the country, and to carry forward our program ever more enthusiastically, more flexibly, more concretely rooted in the interests and needs of all students. Let us review briefly the work of the ASU during the past year and see how our experience lights the path for us in the year ahead.

SUPPORT FOR PEACE PROGRAM

Scarcely had the Vassar convention ended and students settled down to carry out the program on their campuses, when the seizure of Austria shocked the entire world into a realization of the lengthening shadow of *Mein Kampf* in Europe. In this crisis the ASU organized campus meetings and protests throughout the country, and in New York City 1,500 students responded to a stoppage on three days notice. In the Peace Strike, the ASU's peace program for action to stop aggression by peaceful means received an overwhelming endorsement from the campus as a whole, corroborating the ASU membership referendum.

During the Summer, Molly Yard, as a member of the World Student Association delegation to China, representing the United Student Peace Committee, carried the message of American friendship and support to the students of China. She has brought back to us the inspiring message of unshattered unity in the face of war and all the terrors and discouragements it brings to students. This fall, in our chapters throughout the country, we have made our support known to our fellow students in China through our work in raising money for the Far Eastern Student Service Fund, in cooperation with the Student Christian Movement

in the International Student Competition to Aid Spain. Amendment, that the National Committee of the ASU set up a committee to handle our participation. Passed. Suggest that the International Student Competition be presented to a plenary session of the Convention.

II. Motion that the NEC initiate a campaign in January in cooperation with other organizations for the lifting of the embargo on Spain.

III. Whereas the ASU recognizes the great worth of the work which the teachers and students of Spain have been doing to stamp out illiteracy among the people of Spain.

Therefore, be it resolved that the American Student Union make some provision for sending school supplies to Spain to further this splendid work. Passed.

Chapters, and the International Student Service Fund. We have been glad to lend Molly to the Fund to direct its national activities.

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

The world came to the United States in the World Youth Congress meeting at Vassar College, the scene of our last convention, in August. Here, while the crisis over Czechoslovakia was becoming daily more acute, the youth of the world shaped a program for collaboration to halt aggression through the use of economic measures. The ASU, through its representative, Joe Lash, in the American Delegation, played no small part in the deliberations of the Congress.

Let anyone think the ASU hibernated in reverse woodchuck fashion during the summer, let me hasten to mention the Summer Leadership Institute at Poughkeepsie, New York. Here twenty five chapter leaders from all over the country spent four extremely happy and busy weeks discussing in great detail many of the problems of chapter organization and program which we are taking up here at the Convention. Outside speakers, leaders in the liberal movements of the country gave generously of their time to us. Long bull sessions and concrete planning have born fruit throughout the country in a more vigorous and far-sighted ASU. Next summer's Institute, with fifty students will make our school slogan, "Think as men of action, and act as men of thought" the theme-song of students across the continent.

Again the European tour, led by Bob Spivak of the ISS gave many lucky students a new insight into the realities of the European situation.

The fate of Czechoslovakia was uppermost in the minds of all of us as we returned to the campus — as the national staff returned to headquarters. Students, faculty, like all citizens, spent anxious hours with ears glued to their radios feeling as keenly as the people of England and France the terrible import of Czechoslovakia's fate. ASU chapters were hardly organized for their semester's activity, whom, largely, on the initiative of the ASU, mass meetings of students were organized throughout the country. Our program, calling for immediate embargo on Hitler and a conference of all countries on the basis that "Both Peace and Czechoslovakia can be saved" voiced the feeling of students and faculty alike. College presidents, professors, students, took part in the campaign to make the voice of the

United States a force for peace at Rockford, Chicago, Harvard, North Carolina and scores of others. The program of the ASU was the program of the educational community, answering its need for action to save peace, and far exceeding the actual membership of the ASU.

During the renewed persecution of Jews in Germany, the direct result of the Munich surrender to aggression, the ASU again led in effective protest. Campaigns to raise scholarships for student refugees are now in full swing as our answer, and the answer of the entire educational community to this denial of human rights and academic tradition.

PRACTICAL POLITICS

For the first time in a Congressional election, the student body went to the polls when Mr. and Mrs. citizen over 21 voted. Thanks to the resolution adopted at Vassar allowing chapters to endorse candidates if they so desired, the ASU was able to play a really significant role during the elections. In political importance this fall's elections were second only to those which are coming in 1940 and the ASU swung into action to make the campus alert to the real issues which faced the American people, — briefly summed up as the question of Government withdrawal from the basic task of filling human needs — an issue which was muddled to no small degree by the red-baiting tactics of Mr. Dies and Company, the unclear differentiation between the two major parties after the defeat of New Deal democrats in some of the primaries. Several ASU chapters endorsed progressive candidates, notably Harvard, Radcliffe, Wellesley and M. I. T. which campaigned actively for Tom Eliot in Boston and actually increased the vote in the territory they canvassed. Their experience in practical citizenship was matched in New York by Hunter which campaigned for a former teacher, Bella Dodd, and Vassar, which though not endorsing a candidate, cooperated in some of the activities of the American Labor Party in Poughkeepsie. Model elections on the campus, forums, discussions and numerous other educational activities on the part of chapters not endorsing candidates all contributed to make the campus truly election conscious, and advanced the degree of student citizenship.

No lesser degree of concern with college life has accompanied these far reaching excursions into the world beyond the campus. On the contrary, as our program at this convention indicates, student participation in the life of democracy outside the campus works inevitably toward a deepened consciousness of the role of the student in the educational system itself. Practical activities to increase students' opportunity for education again made itself felt in the American Youth Congress Pilgrimage to Washington for the American Youth Act. Student coops move on apace as the Temple book exchange is taken over by the student body and the ASU goes on into other fields. At Harvard and Radcliffe graduate students have initiated the enthusiastic movement for a cooperative restaurant as an expense saver and gathering place for graduate students — and the administration of the University is giving active support. Numerous other coops are in embryonic state. M. I. T. has elaborated plans for activities in the cultural field to supplement the highly technical training of their regular courses. ASU and campus social life reached a new high at Smith when the ASU initiated

the first of a series of informal Saturday night affairs, a barn dance, which successfully drained the surrounding male colleges of their citizenry. The Boston District had a dance attended by all the colleges in greater Boston. Rockford, by writing and producing a play for the benefit of the Far Eastern Student Service Fund combined both business and pleasure.

PRESTIGE OF ASU

The growth and prestige of the ASU this fall is brought home to us almost daily in the numbers of students who write to find out "how to organize an ASU chapter on my campus". They come from Moscow, Idaho — whisper the word — from Honolulu, from the Middle West, and especially from the South where Howard Lee, as field secretary has helped open the gates of liberal student sentiment in hitherto uptapped fields. Most of these contacts because of their inexperience in organizational methods are still in the process of starting new chapters, but we have with us here at this convention a notable delegation from new chapters, fully organized since the last convention, Rockford, the liberal clubs of Haverford, Howard and Princeton, which have just affiliated to the ASU, the University of North Dakota, George Williams College in Chicago, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College.

In spite of the tremendous scope of our activities during the past year, which has earned more respect and admiration for the ASU on all sides we must face the fact that our membership does not reflect this increase. It is no exaggeration to say that the ASU is the acknowledged leader, as far as program is concerned, of at least 100,000 students, that its membership, counting partially paid members, and those who have signed, is twenty-thousand, but our paid up membership, is about half this figure, more than last year at this time, but still far short of its legitimate figure. Why is this so? Why in great universities, like Colorado, where thousands of students take part in peace rallies based on the ASU program, is the ASU a relatively small organization? To my mind this is due to two main faults, first, organizational slackness on the part of the ASU — a feeling that the ASU will grow naturally and without effort on the part of its members, and secondly, a number of misunderstandings about the ASU which exist in the minds of students outside the ASU, and to some extent in the attitudes of ASU members. This second factor is the most important, let us consider it first, and then the organizational means of making our membership reflect our real strength, on the basis of the program adopted at this convention.

MEANING OF ASU MEMBERSHIP

In the first place, what is the meaning of membership in the ASU to the individual student?

I do not think that the Communist menace plays such an important part in the consciousness on the average student that he thinks instinctively of Mr. Dies' accusations when he hears the ASU mentioned. If he does, the ASU answers them categorically, as it did to Mr. Dies:

"We are not and have never been the agent or representative of any foreign principals. We are not dominated by Communists, nor have we ever expressed any belief in or sympathy for Communism. We are not a 'front' or blind for any person, any organization or any

ism. Our only concern has been to awaken students from thoughtlessness and apathy to a concern for having democracy serve human needs. We have often stated there were Communists in our organization, and as long as they adhere to the rules and principles of our organization they will remain. American democracy was founded and has flourished on the principle that every one was welcome who plays the game according to the rules."

Moreover, the ASU program on the campus has been one to win the respect of students to such an extent that they are not deterred by such false accusations, but rather hold aloof because of lesser, but still very important consideration — a feeling that perhaps the ASU demands a somewhat rigid adherence to a doctrinaire interpretation of its program by every member; that perhaps the ASU will take time away from studies and therefore be a detriment to what is after all the most important part of college, by a feeling that joining the ASU and, identifying oneself with a conscientious support of activities connected with the "larger world" may set one apart from the rest of the student body, identifying one with an extreme social-consciousness which appears to be anti-social in a certain aloofness from the social life of the college.

To the extent that these ideas exist, they are in some degree the fault of the ASU itself. Let us see whether they have any place in the ASU and how we can eradicate them.

ACTIVITY FOR DEMOCRACY

To begin with, the ASU program may be summed up briefly as activity for democracy — activity on behalf of the already acknowledged beliefs of the student body of the United States. Joining the ASU necessitates no radical break with one's past beliefs — it is an extension of belief into the field of action and broadened acquaintance with social and educational problems. Nor does it mean adherence to a dogma. The ASU program is the product of discussion and debate among students of many and varied opinions. Any student who believes in our ideals and agrees with one or all of the planks in our program is welcomed into the ASU to participate in activity to the extent of his interest and ability, to share equally with other members in forming policy, to the extent of attendance at policy-making discussions. There is room for discussion in the ASU on the basis of cooperation and united effort on behalf of our common ideals, nor does this mean that the ASU is merely a debating society or that there is a place in our organization for those who professedly disdain our program and join the ASU only to discredit it. In recruiting members to the ASU we do not stress our points of difference but rather our points of agreement and the necessity of working together to make them effective. ASU activity is self-educational as well as educational to students outside who have had little interest or knowledge of our program, and through these activities and discussions we broaden our own understanding and work toward an effective program. The necessity of clearing up this point is indicated in the Swarthmore chapter's poll of student opinion on the ASU, which showed that although a majority of the students favored the ASU program, some thought that ASUers were too "dogmatic". We must try to have no misunderstandings of this kind in the future.

As for chapter activity, let us state emphatically that

joining the ASU is in itself an activity for democracy, and no member who cannot find time to work in every activity of the chapter need feel that he's a "bad" member. ASU members necessarily belong to two types; on the one hand, those who find their major interests in college outside the ASU, making the ASU their tie with the broader issues and their link with activity for democracy; on the other hand, those students who make the ASU their major interest and supplement it with occasional participation in other extra-curricular activities. Each has a place in the ASU and each makes a valuable contribution to the ASU as an organization which represents the most alert intelligence of the student body, an organization which can coordinate the activities and needs of all students in the service of democracy.

THE ASU AND STUDY

As for the ASU and study — "Think as men of action and act as men of thought" is no idle slogan. Through the integration of study and activity the ASU program is truly educational, and it is because of our successful linking of college life with the issues which face our generation that we have earned the respect of educators. When leading ASUers succumb in their studies to the hectic details of chapter organization it is a sad commentary, first on the status of the ASU as an adjunct of a vital educational system, and second, but not less important, on the organizational efficiency and responsibility of the chapter members. Our chapters must be so well organized that no member suffers because others do not fulfill their responsibility in carrying out the policies, and their activities. The field of curriculum discussion, cultural programs, peace, labor, and every phase of chapter life must be made to enrich and vitalize study. Many a student has come to a realization of the exciting application of class-room knowledge to the real world through the ASU and has been led to more enthusiastic study. On the basis of our discussions under "The University We Want to Study In" this side of our work must be carried forward to new levels.

When we talk about the question of ordinary campus social life in the ASU we are up against a very real feeling on the part of some ASU members that perhaps it isn't proper to enjoy the lesser pleasures such as dances and football games in the Post-Munich World—that perhaps students who do enjoy these things aren't potential ASU members. I am sure that when we think about it a little, we recognize that this attitude is really as snobbish as some of the anti-attitudes we meet in other quarters. Actually Tom, Dick and Harry who go to the big game are the people who are going to defend democracy in this country — they are the youth of America. Furthermore, they are very nice people and they would make good ASU members. Actually there is a place for gaiety in the Post-Munich world. Aren't we trying to protect our world from the gloom which war and fascism are casting on the youth of other lands, protect it for a true gaiety and fellowship that will be extended to all students who do not enjoy it here in this country even now? In the ASU we enjoy a comradeship based on association for common ideals, more real and deeper than any accidental association for common ideals, more real and deeper than any accidental associations. Let us embody it consciously, in the forms of social life which are familiar and nat-

ural to all students — athletics, dances, hikes, bull sessions singing, and general good-times.

How does the chapter carry out the program in such a way as to give maximum play to the needs and interests of the individual members? Not by the horse-and- buggy conception of the chapter meeting — a mixture of business — usually petty details that bore the membership — followed by a guest speaker who has gained a very clear understanding of why his audience is so small.

Our chapters must be geared to a larger membership. Our activities must be a well-balanced and coordinated program including general activities such as dances and meetings with noteworthy guest speakers, peace rallies, activities participated in by the whole membership and the student body non-ASUers; and our activities must also include committee work on special projects, labor, curriculum, legislation and so forth, calling for the concentrated effort of a group of specialists, and also drawing in a fringe of interested and less active members. At Harvard and Chicago for instance, chapters of three hundred, committee meetings are like chapter meetings on a smaller scale.

If such a plan is well carried out — and, incidentally, meetings spaced well apart so that they aren't a burden — membership business meetings will take their place as real policy discussions, one of the most exciting activities of the whole ASU.

CREATIVE LEADERSHIP

To carry out this program requires a leadership that is constantly alert, sensitive to the needs of the campus, imaginative, creative, and efficient. Exec meetings should also be policy discussions. A thorough understanding of the why's and wherefore's of chapter activity is absolutely essential to carrying it out effectively. Rigid check up on organizational details is necessary, of course, but if the leadership of the chapter fulfills its function in careful planning and delegation of work, the machinery of the chapter will function smoothly and the program will be more effectively carried out because more time can be devoted to basic discussions.

Not the least important part of leadership is the training of new leadership. "I'd rather do it myself" is an easy way of getting out of explaining things to new members. Part of the democratic process is in giving new people an opportunity to develop and try their metal. Chapter leadership must be ever on the watch for new talent in the ASU — for the sake of the members, and for a healthy chapter in the years to come.

How are we going to make the student body stand up and be counted for democracy?

This is what joining the ASU means. There is no reason why hundreds of students on each campus should not join the ASU and do their bit for democracy. One reason they have not done it before has been the shocking lack of attention in our own chapters to the business of recruiting new members and reregistering old ones. On many campuses new students have come into the ASU, virtually of their own accord, with practically no membership drive by the chapter, and at the same time, membership decreases because old members consider themselves members still without renewing their dues. This situation points to one very favorable observation, namely that the ASU is attracting students because of its program and activities, and one very serious fault, that the chapters are not taking advantage

of their growing prestige to swell the ranks of the ASU and multiply their own usefulness to the campus. Important details on how to conduct a membership drive have been sent out to each chapter innumerable times, plans have been made but they have remained plans, until, as at Brooklyn College, the ASU woke up one day and realized that they were shirking their duty. "Stand up and be counted for democracy" was their motto. They went out and recruited 80 members in one week. Maia Turchin recruited one member every day from Thanksgiving until the convention. How are we going to make this sense of the pressing need for service to democracy felt throughout the country? That is the key question.

HUMAN RIGHTS ROLL CALL

The Human Rights Roll Call is the central point of ASU work this Spring.

The Human Rights Roll Call a ringing challenge to the educational community to go on record for a forward moving democracy. For years we have protested fascist outrages, we have worked to protect democracy at home by strengthening our liberties and making the United States a force for peace. Since Munich the challenge to democracy has been intensified a thousand fold. Now is the time for the educational community in the United States to face the concrete steps which must be taken to make democracy serve human needs if the democratic liberties we cherish are to be preserved. This is the meaning of the Human Rights Roll Call to the educational community. 250,000 signatures to the Roll Call is our offer this Spring on behalf of democracy.

From the point of view of the ASU, the Roll Call means not only bringing the heart of our program to a far wider section of the campus and the community. It means a tremendous increase in the actual membership of the ASU if our chapters take the Roll Call in hand with a full realization of its significance. The Roll Call embodies the heart of the ASU program, and it is a program which merits the support of every student and teacher. We must make it clear that signing the Roll Call does not constitute membership in the ASU, but support of a genuine program for democracy. In our own minds it must be clear that every signer of the Roll Call is a potential member of the ASU and it is our job to make the challenge of the Roll Call a permanent contribution to organized effort on behalf of democracy by recruiting every signer into the ASU on the basis of the concept of membership which we have already discussed and on the basis that every signer will want to make a continuous contribution to democratic activity through the ASU.

CLUB ENDORSEMENTS

Another concrete step in concretizing the influence of the ASU is through endorsement from clubs. Hitherto we have made little use of this provision of the Constitution because it has been so cluttered up with details about affiliation fees and so forth. Now the Constitution has been revised to do away with all this underbrush and the way is open for all clubs to endorse the objectives of the ASU, maintaining their own individual identity and not being bound by rigid adherence to our program. They will be given representation at our convention, as is their right, and will be able to cooperate more effectively with us nationally and locally. Endorsement of our objectives by hundreds of

clubs and student councils means that the ASU will be able to speak in the name of a million students when it calls upon the educational community to defend democracy. Take the Human Rights Roll Call to every club on your campus and on the basis of its call to action on behalf of democracy, obtain the endorsement of the objectives of the American Student Union.

A PRIMER FOR DEMOCRACY

And I want to say a few very emphatic words about the program of your chapter in relation to the human rights Roll Call, and our resolutions of Peace, Education, and Legislation. Your Chapter program, your discussion of education, your legislative conference this Spring, all your activities should be in themselves a "Primer For Democracy". The legislative angle will justly receive emphasis with Congress in session and bills on relief, medical care, housing, education, foreign policy. Do not forget that our program is a coordinated whole and that each of these aspects is connected with the others, and our activity is connected with education for democracy. A legislative conference is a "Primer For Democracy" representing an educational system which takes cognizance of student citizenship. Also, our activities in all these lines of work must be suited to the individual campus, with different emphasis in different parts of the country. Especially we must adapt our program to the interests and problems of rural students and college students with rural backgrounds. Rural health and housing, rural education, rural activities for peace, agricultural problems, these are all things that the ASU has neglected because we have put our emphasis on the urban aspect of our program. You answer "But I don't know anything about rural problems," I ask you—isn't the ASU meant to teach its own members something? We are an organization to serve students—not just the students we know about or those who think the way we do but all students, and our program can be much more fruitfully adapted to special interests than we have yet realized.

Before discussing the National Office and the Budget, I want to dwell on the National Executive Committee and Districts. It is a great honor to be elected to the NEC and it entails also a responsibility, not only to come to NEC meetings between conventions, but to take the lead in one's own chapter, to develop new chapters in your neighborhood, and to be ever alert in constructive criticism of the National Office and the carrying out of national policies. Too often in the past NEC members haven't acted as creative leaders. Our new NEC must be an integral part of the ASU leadership. We want to feel it in the National Office, and you should feel it in your chapters.

DISTRICT RESPONSIBILITY

Those of you who come from Districts know how many of the most important ASU activities this Fall have been directly the result of the unflagging work of our district secretaries: Mark Hopkins in Ohio, Bert Witt in New York, Howard Lee in the South, Boone Schirmer and Toni Grose in New England, Ken Born in Chicago. The District Secretaries are the nerve centers of the ASU. We wouldn't have an ASU if it weren't for them. We need more of them; we need to pay them adequately. Our chapters need to take more responsibility for the financial and organizational work of the districts. District secretaries are sent out to help the chapters and the services they render are in proportion

as the chapters themselves lend cooperative effort in district organization.

Your national officers are elected by you to serve you in carrying out the policies you shape, in helping your chapter act as a service organization on the campus. I know I don't need to tell you of the courage and perseverance and far-sighted leadership which Joe Lash and Molly Yard have given the ASU.

We in the National Office want to know the kind of work you would like to have us do. I am sure many of you feel that the National Office isn't efficient, that it doesn't do anything for the chapters. Our work is terribly dependent on our finances, but we can do more for the chapters and we will do more if you will only tell us what you want. What do you want in the Chapter Guide? Do you need bibliographies of plays and material on international events? Write to us for some of the help you can't get from your college libraries, and send us news of what you are doing so we can relay it to other chapters. We need a cooperative secretary—a full time job—but in the meantime we might do more to help nascent coops. What kind of information do you need? What kind of help on organization do you need. I am sure the National Office could help work out better systems of chapter finance by writing to different chapters, by helping answer some of the questions chapters might ask us. The truth is, that when the chapters write the National Office they never really pose practical organizational problems and when we write you, or write the Chapter Guide we have to guess what may hit the mark. We should take more initiative. But it is your right and your duty to tell us what you want.

ADEQUATE FINANCES

Now on finances. This is not the time to talk emotionally about the salary-less months in the N. O. and the Districts—about the empty postage box and the bill collectors. We must realize once and for all that the carrying out of our objectives depends upon adequate financial means and our job, locally and nationally, is to find the means. Partly this comes through membership dues. Partly this is the responsibility of the chapters in paying for literature they order from the National Office. This is your organization; its responsibilities are your responsibilities. Look at the bills owed by chapters! Look at our deficit! You have no right to penalize the sympathetic printers and businessmen who are allowing us to use their services. We have discontinued the Advocate in order to pay off the deficit which it contributed to the ASU. But we desperately need a publication that would bring ASU activities home to every member. In the coming year let every chapter, as well as we in the N.O., make the finances of the ASU, nationally and locally, one of the chief items on its agenda, receiving the most careful and earnest consideration. Let 1939 be the end of every chapter and national debt and the beginning of an ASU that can afford to do the things that need to be done to Make the Campus a Fortress of Democracy.

In closing I want to say only that the year ahead must find in every ASU member a pillar of strength for the support of all the things we cherish. Let us go forward now to build an ASU which will create through each member, the chapter, the NEC, the National Staff, the School and University we Want to Study in, the America We want to Live in, The World that Will Give us Peace."

Report of the Treasurer

New York, December 29, 1938

Mr. Joseph P. Lash
National Secretary
American Student Union
112 East 19th Street
New York City
Sir:

I herewith present a statement of income and expenses of the National Office of the American Student Union for the fiscal year beginning December 1, 1937 and ending November 30, 1938

INCOME

Contributions and Donations	4776.64	
Dues — College Memberships	3475	
Dues — High School Memberships	689	4164.00
Net Receipts from 1937 Convention	963.82	
Income from Summer Camp operations	249.20	
Income from miscellaneous sources	386.15	
Total Income — All Sources		10539.81

EXPENSES

Educational

Pamphlets, posters and literature	930.88	
Mimeographing Expense	190.98	
**Loss on Student Advocate Pub.	179.27	
Total Educational Expenses		1301.13

Administrative

Salaries — Executives	3291.90	
Salaries — Field Secretaries	1865.00	
Salaries — Office	1420.50	
Office Rent and Maintenance	918.03	
Telephone and Telegraph	631.84	
Postage	663.07	
Stationery, Printing, Supplies	504.12	
*Office Equipment	459.78	
Traveling Expense	272.88	
Miscellaneous	336.31	
Total Administrative Expense		10363.43

Total Expenses 11664.56

Deficit from Operations — 1938 1124.75
Add deficit beginning of year (Dec. 1 1937) 3411.55

Total Deficit November 30, 1938 4536.30

Accounts Payable	3115.68	
Loans Payable	500.00	
Salaries Payable	877.00	
Bank Overdraft 11-30-38	43.62	4536.30

* Note: Office equipment includes purchase of mimeograph machine in the amount of \$367.00.

** Advocate Loss does not include issues prior to Dec. 1937. All income and expense for the current period were applied to final issue of the publication. Prior deficit is represented by an outstanding obligation to Marston Press \$2114.58.

Respectfully submitted,
Agnes Reynolds,
National Treasurer

Budget Estimate for the Year

Beginning December 1, 1938 — Ending November 30, 1939

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE

Purpose	Expended 1938 (1)	Estimated Expen. '39	Increase (Decr.)
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National Office

Telephone & Telegraph	630.00	480.00	(150.00)
Mimeograph Supplies	200.00	300.00	100.00
Postage	660.00	700.00	40.00
Rent & Office Maint.	920.00	894.00	(26.00)
Petty Cash & Misl. Expense	336.00	300.00	(36.00)
Office Equipment	459.00(2)	150.00	(309.00)
Stationery & Supl. Printing	500.00	250.00	(300.00)

Salaries

National Executives			
3 at \$21 per wk. for 44 wks.			
2772.00			
1 at \$21 per wk. for 16 wks.			
336.00	3300.00	3108.00	(192.00)

Field Secretaries

5 Districts at \$10 per wk. for 44 wks.	1850.00	2200.00	350.00
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Office Staff

1 at \$21 for 52 wks. \$1092.			
1 at \$21 for 44 wks.	924.	1420.00	2016.00
			596.00

Travel Expense

250.00	300.00	50.00
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Educational Printing

Pamphlets, Posters, etc. 1500.			
Estimated Income 500.			
	930.00	1000.00	70.00

Necessary Cash Funds for

Operation	11455.00	11698.00	
Salaries unpaid 11-30-38		877.00	
Accounts Payable 11-30-38	3900.00	3356.71	
Loan Payable		500.00	

Total Budgetary Requirements for 1939 15355.00 16431.71 193.00 Inc.

Note: (1) 1938 figures include unpaid bills of 1937. Actually the 1938 operating costs were less, but due to bookkeeping system 1937 expenses were included in 1938.

(2) Includes new mimeograph machine \$367.00.

ESTIMATED INCOME

Profit on Convention	1200.00	1000.00	(200.00)
Membership — College	3475.00	4000.00	525.00
Membership — High School	689.00	1000.00	301.00
Summer Office	249.00	500.00	251.00

Accounts Receivable 1300

Estimated Good		500.00	
Contributions	4776.00		
Estimated Income	10389.00	7000.00	877.00 In

The High School ASU We Want to Make

REPORT ON HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

By THERESA LEVIN, *High School Secretary*

THIS SEPTEMBER at the Fall Planning Conference of the National Executive Committee we had one of our first serious estimations of the High School ASU. We discussed the status of the high school ASU, its beginnings in some districts and cities and its growth in others. There was unanimous agreement on an energetic drive to build and set up high school chapters and at the same time agreement on the need to study the problems of high school students and to examine high school organizations carefully if we were to be successful.

At that time we discussed only several general points relating to the type of program high school chapters should have, the kind of activities they should engage in. Many serious problems which confront our high school groups at the present time were neglected because the high school problem was new to us and we had not given it sufficient attention.

We can be proud that at our Convention, this state of affairs no longer prevails. Some of the basic perspectives set by our National Committee have been achieved. Most important among these was the decision that every District of the ASU would provide leadership for high school chapters by securing high school secretaries and establishing functioning high school committees. We can now report that every District, with the exception of North Carolina has either a high school secretary or a high school committee or both, that in every case experienced and understanding ASU leaders have been elected as high school secretaries., ASU'ers who have worked hard to give our high school chapters the kind of daily guidance needed to set up a movement of young people. As we have seen by their work at Convention, our high school secretaries have been among the most devoted and energetic of all ASU members.

A DEMOCRATIC CURRICULUM

As we begin to establish our organization we see how numerous our problems are. Young people in this country, high school students among them, believe firmly in democracy. Yet very few high school students are members of the ASU. In many cities and schools progressive educators are introducing new courses and study groups on problems of present day democracy. Where new courses are not yet added to the curriculum, discussions of problems of democracy are being integrated with the regular curriculum in English classes, civics classes, history classes and many others. Radio programs, the press, contemporary literature all encourage us not to take democracy for granted but to take an active part in defending it and helping it advance. Despite all this our ASU has not yet been able to take advantage of the increased active interest of high school students in present day affairs. Great as is the discrepancy between support of our program and actual membership in the Colleges, this discrepancy is far greater in the high schools.

With this in mind, let us re-evaluate the appeal, methods of work and activity program of our high school chapters to determine wherein we are weak and

where strong. Doing this is a difficult task. Even the large religious and settlement organizations with high school membership groups have had great difficulty coordinating an educational and activity program with socials and amusements.

This fact in itself leads us to ask whether we haven't been making too many demands of our high school members, whether we haven't been organizing miniature college chapters in the high schools, basing our high school organization on our experiences in the colleges and knowledge of college organizations? Are our high school chapters similar to other high school clubs, differing from them primarily because they are better clubs and are service groups for the school and community?

HIGH SCHOOL CLUBS

What does a high school student want of a school club? This question is partly answered by a glance at the kind of clubs which exist in the high school. School hours are long and tiring for most part and occupy a great deal of the students time. To add to this students in the large high schools of our great cities meet so many young people in their various classes, in the halls during lunch and study hours, that it becomes difficult to find friends with the same interests, whose periods, etc. correspond. And so photography, literary, science clubs spring up, based on study interests, the desire to do original work, but also based on the need for friendship, organized relaxation and recreation and an adequate social life. If this is true of the average, successful, high school club, how true is it of our ASU. Does the ASU chapter usually provide organized relaxation, recreation and a social life for its members? Up to now too many of us have been frowning at the thought of anyone joining the ASU for recreation. Aside from what we think, the high school student who would want to join the ASU for recreation would be rare indeed. Yet, all the national high school organizations have been built with this as a primary appeal.

This, however, is far from being the only standard of a good chapter. Then what do we include in our judgment of a good chapter? A good chapter is not only one in which we can have fun, but one which carries a variety of education and activity which helps its members know more about their school, community, nation and world. More than this it discovers the ways and means of making these the best places in which to live and study. Its members are keenly interested in what they are doing and contribute to the welfare of the group in some way. Members learn how to improve their work through their activity as well as through study and to develop their own personalities for leadership.

In our new High School Handbook, we have included an organizational test which reviews the standing of the chapter on eight important aspects of organization. Let us run through that briefly now to see what are the requisites for a chapter to become a respected and important school citizen.

Firstly, does our chapter have a local program? Do we really contribute to school community betterment, or is that still relegated to the printed word? People judge us much more, and rightly so, by what we do

than by what we say. Consequently, we must put life into our printed program. Only this way will it have meaning for the average high school student, who will begin to understand what we mean when we have results to offer. If we have a local program, does it express the needs and desires of a large number of students? Have we sought the cooperation of other school clubs? Have we been successful in gaining their cooperation? Have we secured the cooperation of community and other organizations interested in the welfare of the school? Active cooperation of school and community organizations is necessary for the success of our program.

INTERESTING MEETINGS

Second. Do we hold interesting meetings? ASU chapters are judged very largely by the kind of meetings they run. Students who come down to their first meeting, and find it dull, chaotic, not sociable, will rarely return. Every chapter meeting is an important occasion in the life of our ASU chapters. Good meetings are well balanced with a combination of business, educational and social features. Have our discussions been limited to a few major topics, so that members feel they will hear the same thing discussed at meeting after meeting? Have we tried to discover what current or general topics our members would like to hear presented or have we relied completely on the exec's resources and interests. Have we used a variety of forms of presentation or are our meetings just one speaker after another?

Dramatics, skits, debates, quizzes can make a meeting more lively. Several of our chapter presidents and educational directors have justly criticized the various district and national high school departments of the ASU for not supplying a sufficient amount of this kind of educational material, and for not suggesting the novel ideas we seem to presume are so excellent and easily concocted. This criticism is very valid, and the situation is one we have been trying very hard to remedy. In our High School Leader this year, we have included ideas for model chapter meetings, skits and dramatic poems for chapter presentation, and model question bees. True, there weren't nearly enough of these, but they were a start. Many members can write original skits of the kind being written by the talented members of the Philadelphia District. May we urge you all to send your manuscripts to us so that other chapters can get the benefit of all your ideas. At this point I wish to congratulate the Philadelphia District for its work in the cultural and educational field for the skits, poems and dances which they have been encouraging the high school chapters to prepare. Our high school delegates might ask the Philadelphia delegates what they do and how they do it. Generally speaking, however, we believe that the National Office should, and it will certainly endeavor to, prepare for more educational material for the high school chapters.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Next there is the problem of our executive committee. Does our executive committee really lead the chapter? Does it make well organized proposals for activities so that members know what the chapter is doing and what is expected of them?

Does the executive review the work of all committees and make helpful suggestions for improving this work? Does every member of the executive commit-

tee understand his position and know how to assume his responsibilities?

Leadership is extremely important for a high school chapter, leadership that understands the school and community, understands the ASU. The high school chapter needs a lot of help to produce this kind of trained leadership, and there are two sources from which help can be obtained. One is the faculty adviser or the chapter sponsor, the other is the ASU District.

The District can be of help through high school councils, high school committees, and district conferences all of which serve to help our members get ideas from other ASUers and to give our chapters a picture of what is going on outside of the school and where their own chapter fits into the scene. Very important, in the direct training of high school leaders is the establishment of leadership schools or institutes in all Districts. If this is important for the colleges, it is doubly important for the high schools. Every district should assume the responsibility of organizing at least one leadership school for high school students this Spring. In New York City and Los Angeles a number of very successful leadership schools have been held with excellent results. Many of our very capable high school chapter presidents are graduates of District Training schools conducted in the last year, and owe much of their knowledge of ASU organization and program to the lectures, discussions and independent projects organized at the schools. The District bears responsibility for developing a chapter leadership capable of coping with the political and organizational problems our chapters meet every day.

ADULT ADVISERS

Another phase of chapter leadership development is the securing of adult advisors and sponsors for the high school ASU. Through daily contact with faculty members or college students who understand the policies of the ASU and the needs of the educational community, high school leaders will learn methods of work and how to meet problems which have to be solved every day. Almost no organization of young people of high school age is allowed to meet without adult sponsorship. Y's and settlement houses will not even allow junior or senior clubs to hold their first meetings in the house without an adult adviser assigned by the Y, thoroughly responsible, acquainted with the Y's and trained in methods of club work. This is partly because Y's and settlements feel they cannot take responsibility for young clubs without a direct tie between the group and the Y as a whole and partly because the adult leadership of a settlement fears that a club will get off to a discouraging start if it does not receive practical advice. Groups like the Hi-Y's, Girl Reserves, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts would not consider allowing groups to form without adult aid and constant check from a central office. The ASU must be much more insistent and practical about adult aid to high school chapters. We still face the problem of encouraging our most capable college ASUers and high school faculty members to cooperate actively with the high school ASU.

Like other high school organizations too, we must consider what the function of the individual member of the ASU should be. This was considered for the College ASU by Agnes Reynolds in her report this evening. There must be an end to the condition whereby a

youthful male joins the ASU and proceeds to shave or not shave immediately the following week as the case may be. Our high school members should lead the normal life every young person is entitled to. Joining the ASU is an act for democracy in itself. And a loyal member is one who comes to meetings regularly or at least to one meeting a month. Every member of the ASU, specially in our large chapters, will not join a committee, and can not be regarded as a bad member because he does not do so. This does not mean that we discourage joining committees or taking increased responsibility for the activity of the ASU chapter. But it does mean that through well functioning groups and the example which our leadership provides, our members will be encouraged to join committees. Committees will develop only through steady work, individual contact and knowledge of our members' interest.

INTEREST FINDERS

The model interest finder which you will find included in the High School Handbook, should be able to help some chapters in this respect. It asks whether members are interested in peace activity, dramatics, socials, learning how to dance, listening to good music, athletics, theatre parties, photography, writing, singing, playing a musical instrument, working on school or community problems. If all our members answer a questionnaire like this, we'll all have a better idea of what they are interested in doing and we'll be making suggestions for activity which will interest them.

At this point I wish to say something especially to the out of town high school delegates. I realize that much of what I have said does not apply to many of the chapters out of New York. In Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, with the exception of a very few chapters, we have a very serious problem in building the high school ASU, a problem which is totally different from the problem of N. Y. In N. Y. we have a number of large, spirited chapters, fairly well established in the schools and respected in the community. We have a progressive Board of Education, a progressive city administration. This is not true in Chicago, Boston and other places. The Convention has certainly served to illustrate the difference in our chapters and districts, and to make me, for one, see the need for much thought and discussion of the problems of the high school ASU. For example, I know that many of our out of town high school delegates went on the tour to Benjamin Franklin's community center yesterday. Everyone had a wonderful time, left Franklin feeling this was what school should be with an informal relationship between student and teachers, with teachers singing school songs. Here is a school where people are free to say and do what they think right, where students are urged to run student activities and help determine curriculum. Here is a school where some of the finest boys in the City are trained, where boys, and many of them, really become leaders, because independent thinking and school community service are stressed. Yet how many of the delegates left Franklin feeling that it was the kind of place you read about, but our school could never be like that.

DEMOCRACY IN THE SCHOOLS

Well, now, this is a serious state of affairs. We've got to figure out how we're going to help change every high school in and out of New York. And it isn't an easy job. On the basis of the problems of every school

and district we will have to determine the relation of the ASU to the school and student organizations. This Convention has made me feel, for example, that much of the material included in the High School Leader has not been very helpful to the out of town chapters, because it did not deal with the problems the chapters face. It is true that chapters which do not have recognition, cannot meet in school, cannot find meeting places easily in the community, are continually rebuffed, cannot become school service organizations in the same sense that our New York chapters are becoming.

It would seem to me, that our chapters and districts outside New York should consider the inauguration of a well planned campaign for democracy in the school system, for recognition of the ASU and progressive student activity. In recognition of progressive student activity and the ASU, we should include not only formal recognition by the school authorities but recognition of the need for the ASU by the student body. Many of our high schools do not even have student government in any form. This is a deplorable state of affairs in a democratic country like ours. Democracy means democracy everywhere, including the school system. And it will have to be the responsibility of the ASU, cooperating with progressives in the educational system to see that democracy is extended to the schools.

Why can't we organize conferences for Democracy in Education in all our Districts this coming year? Such conferences could be called not by the ASU alone, but by citizens committees composed of teachers, parents, students, community leaders, and school administrators. These conferences would introduce this problem to people who have not done anything about it up to the present and would elicit support for such a campaign from larger groups of people. New friends would be won for the ASU. A first break would have been made. Of course, such activity would have to be coupled with activities in individual schools for the establishment of student government and for democracy in student government. Let us search out the progressives in the educational system, and there are many whom we haven't found, discuss this problem with them, get their advice and together win this campaign.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITY

Take the problem of making the schools community centers. This is something new in our educational system. Franklin is pioneering in this field, involving the school in projects for community betterment, opening the school to community organizations for study and recreation. But now, that we have one pioneer, we have a splendid example. Why can't we select one school in most of our districts, for which we try to work out a community project. It might be in the field of housing, or community legislative conferences, or activity on racial understanding in the community. We could discuss the problem with the principal, with community leaders, and try to set the basis for work on one project which would then lead to further school community ties. Certainly modern educators would be interested and excited by such a project; settlement and community people would be all for it.

If we devote our attention to democracy and student government in the school system, to school and community betterment projects in the next year, I feel we will all come to our next Convention with a much larger

ASU working in a more democratic school system.

Panel discussions on chapter organization should consider these various problems. I hope we will be able to leave with a better understanding of how to meet our problems and what to do in the coming year. If we can do this, our Convention will have been a great contribution to the growth of high school ASU. With the benefits of this Convention and a year's hard work, we should be able to report many new successes to the fifth Convention of the ASU.

RESOLUTION ON EDUCATION

Today in innumerable sectors of the world fascism has burnt books, expelled scholars from its borders, and already destroyed any semblance of liberal education. It forth false racial theories as scientific truths and has closed its universities to those whose sex, color, race, creed or religion it does not like.

Democracy finds itself hard-pressed today with fascism threatening to destroy the fundamental principles upon which our Republic was founded. The American Student Union believes that the most pertinent contribution it can make towards the strengthening of our democracy is to render our colleges and high schools more sensitive instruments in the service of American democracy and human needs. No longer is it possible for the educational community to remain neutral when democracy is in jeopardy. If genuine education is to survive, if our democracy is to progress, then education must take the initiative in giving youth a working faith in democracy. To this end, we advocate that chapters undertake a "Primer for Democracy" course.

The educational community must be a democratic organization if it is to successfully teach the principles of our democracy. This means that for teachers and students alike, there should be complete academic freedom.

We deplore the discrimination in our colleges and high schools against persons for race, color, creed or religion, and pledge ourselves to work for the elimination of such discrimination. For this reason, we hail the decision rendered by the Supreme Court in the Gaines Case as a step towards equality on the campus.

We urge increasing cooperation among students, faculty and administration so that all three will have a voice in determining the policies governing the institution. To prevent the divorce of our educational system from the people whom it serves, we recommend that on all Boards of Regents, (or Boards of Education) teachers, labor leaders and community leaders should be represented.

We are aware that throughout our country today great inequalities on educational opportunities and conditions exist. We believe that education can be made a force to equalize and improve American society. Therefore, we support Federal aid to education through such projects as NYA and also in the form of direct appropriations for buildings, for equipment, for supplies, etc.

Democracy cannot be separated from the economic and social conditions in which it exists. Our educational system, if it is to serve its purpose, must revise its curriculum in term of our present day problems and needs. In this way our young people will be adequately prepared to solve the problems that confront them.

We endorse the report given by Joseph P. Lash, our National Secretary, and refer it to the chapters.

We deplore the shutting down of New College and extend our cooperation to all groups working for its continuation.

(Resolution was passed)

RESOLUTION ON LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL ACTION

Democracy must be kept moving forward by making democracy serve human needs. These human needs are

a vigorous foreign policy that can check aggression, a program that will give security to every home in America and increased opportunity for every young person.

The needs of students and young people can be best met in a broad legislative program to meet the needs of the people as a whole. Such a program in large part is that of the social objectives of the New Deal. Specifically this means:

1. Federal aid to education.
2. Adequate social security legislation including WPA.
3. Expansion of NYA.
4. Federal slum clearance and housing program.
5. A peace program that will defend democracy.
6. Federal health program.
7. Defense of Wagner Labor Act.
8. Security of tenure and cost of production for the farmer.
9. Anti-lynching legislation.

The American Student Union must work in the broadest possible manner to unite the campus behind such a program. A continuous series of campus-wide and intercollegiate conferences on legislation should be initiated at once. The voice of the student body from all parts of the country must be made to bear on the important issues facing the next Congress.

The American Student Union should take the lead with labor and community organizations in calling legislative conferences to draw up programs to meet the needs of the various municipalities and states as well as on a national scale. ASU chapters are urged to follow through with practical political activity by endorsing progressive candidates and campaigning for their election.

Our eyes are set on 1940. Whether democracy can be maintained depends on the effectiveness of such legislative and political action between now and 1940. We must get out the progressive vote and unite the campus as a "fortress of democracy".

Resolution was passed.

HUMAN RIGHTS ROLL CALL

As the lights go out in the universities and schools under fascism, must we not resolve that they shall burn more brightly in our institutions of learning?

The freedom and progress of American education stands or falls with the fate of American democracy. Only under democracy can youth achieve its fullest heritage. But today the democratic way of life is challenged. To survive and become the fighting faith of all mankind, democracy must meet human needs and guarantee human rights. To do so it must utilize the instrumentalities of government.

It must address itself to:

1. The elimination of illiteracy and the establishment of equality of educational opportunity.
2. The support of cultural activities accessible to the people.
3. The conservation of human resources through jobs and social insurance.
4. The public provision of medical care for all the people.
5. The creation of the city beautiful through slum clearance and housing.
6. The conservation of natural resources.
7. The guarantee of civil liberties and equal political rights to all American citizens regardless of race, creed, color or belief.

Finally, the fate of American democracy cannot be divorced from the fate of human rights throughout the world. Our democracy must be protected from attacks within by meeting the needs of its people, and from attacks without by avoiding any action which will encourage, build up and assist an aggressor.

The educational community can give leadership in this campaign to make democracy serve human needs. It can mobilize support for those agencies in our political life which work to extend the economic frontiers of democracy.

To unite the campus for this campaign, the American Student Union proposes that conferences be held in our schools on "Education for Democracy — Democracy in Education." We urge that every campus formulate a human rights legislative program.

To achieve the widest unification of the democratic will in the educational community, the American Student Union would like to see a Student Assembly for Liberal Action next Christmas. The call for this Assembly should come from representative student leaders, educators and scientists, those who sign this Roll Call as well as the American Student Union.

With democracy in danger, there are no sidelines: sign this Roll Call and show that you are ready to be counted for democracy!

(Resolution was passed)

RECOMMENDATION OF SOUTHERN DELEGATES

Mr. Chairman:

There has been for sometime a question in the minds of hundreds of ASUers as well as other persons as to whether or not the ASU can be built in the South. I suppose that this has come about because of the seemingly slow developments on the part of the American Student Union in the southern states. We, the delegates from the Southern States to the fourth National Convention of the American Student Union, are of the firm opinion that the ASU *can* and *must* be built in the South.

We feel, however, that this calls for special attention from this National Convention and from the National office throughout the year. An understanding not only by the students in the South but also by the whole of the American Student Union of what is meant by the phrase "the Nation's No. 1 Economic Problem" and of conditions in the South in their relationships to students is most essential on the part of every chapter of the American Student Union if the A. S. U. is to be an effective organization on a national scale.

What specifically you may ask are some of these problems of which I speak and of which others have spoken of during this convention? To begin with, Southern youth in general and students in particular are victims of gross denials of their democratic rights and the poll taxes, they are denied the right to vote, and privileges as American citizens. They are victimized for historically they are denied the right of citizenship and participation in the political life of the country.

Further, the vast majority of the Negro students in the country are found in the southern schools. They are in a South where you find the greatest degree of discrimination and segregation not only in the educational system but also in southern life as a whole; a south where you find an educational philosophy built around an old, old tradition which does not make for progress, freedom, opportunity and equality.

All this and more makes for a politically and socially backward Southern youth. This makes for an impediment not only of the South but the whole of the American Student Unions program, particularly in the emphasis that has been placed by this convention upon the significance of 1940.

We therefore, recommend to the fourth National Convention of the American Student Union that adequate material aid be given the Southern District in order that it may establish a Southern office to study and develop a program for organization in the South.

JOHN YELDELL,

Spokesman for the Southern delegation.

ELECTION OF NATIONAL OFFICERS

The following National Officers were unanimously elected:

National Chairman	Molly Yard, Swarthmore
Executive Secretary	Joseph P. Lash, C.C.N.Y.
College Secretary	Agnes Reynolds, Vassar
High School Secretary	Theresa Levin, Hunter
Public Affairs Secretary	William Chambers, Harvard

The Convention voted to elect five regional Vice-Chairmen as follows:

For the East	Betsy Pifer, Vassar
For the Mid West	Donald Thayer, Wisconsin
For the Far West	Bernard Firestone, U. of Cal., Berkeley
For the South	Howard Lee, Ozarks Frances Jones, Bennett

Due to the late hour a motion was made and passed to refer the Constitution to the National Executive Committee for consideration and change.

The names of the members of the new National Executive Committee were then read by the Chairman.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

College Members

Julius Belcher	N. C. A. & T.
Jack Cottin	N. Y. U.
Le Marquis De Jarmon	Howard U.
Elizabeth Dimock	Bryn Mawr
Garland Embrey	U. C. L. A.
Jane Gillette	N. C. Women's College
Avram Goldstein	Harvard U.
Sylvia Gordon	Hunter
Frieda Harris	Rockford College
Marry Ivins	Swarthmore, Pennsylvania
Paul James	H. S. Sec'y
Jerry Johnson,	Temple U.
Jack Kamaiko	C. C. N. Y.
John Kaufman	C. C. N. Y., N. Y. District
Robert E. Lane	Swarthmore
Howard Lee	Harvard U.
Manuel Manfield	Ozarks
Lawson Rosenberg	C. C. N. Y.
Emily Shields	Johns Hopkins U.
Oliver Stone	Chicago U.
William Sussman	Wesleyan U.
Maia Turchin	M. I. T.
Justin Vanderlaan	Brooklyn College
George Watt	Univ. of California
Florence Yard	Cooper Union, N. Y. District
	Swarthmore

High School Members

Dorothy Brooks	Belmont H. S., Calif.
Anthony Dell	Central H. S., Wash.
Esther Feldman	Boston District H. S. Comm.
Hyman Meyer	Samuel Tilden H. S., N. Y.
Norrrna Miller	Glenville H. S., Cleveland
Abe Polisar	Lincoln H. S., N. Y. C.
Hal Reinhold	Gratz H. S., Phila.
Dorothy Smith	Roxbury Memorial H. S., Phila.
William Williams	S. Phila. H. S.
Quentin Young	Hyde Park H. S., Chicago

SUMMARY OF SPEECH END OF CONVENTION

By MOLLY YARD, *National Chairman*

It is the fate of our generation to live in times during which tremendous struggles are taking place, struggles which will affect our lives no matter in which direction we turn. Thus Chen Chu Den, the delegate at the 1937 conference of the World Student Association, who invited the student organizations over the world to send an International Student Delegation to China, now lies dead because bombs fall in China. Our fellow students in Spain have died by the hundreds defending their country and even some of our own ASUers have fallen by their sides.

The struggle which is going on today everywhere is the fight for freedom and democracy against the military forces of regimentation and reaction. The American Student Union stands firmly for democracy, peace and freedom. We believe that we hold in our hands the power to defend democracy in our own country as well as the power to aid democratic forces through the world. The Convention has brought to the fore the responsibility of students not only for the development of our own country but for the fate of mankind everywhere. It has recognized that the United States is regarded as the most powerful country in the world and that, therefore, in our hands has been placed the job of safeguarding and advancing democracy and using the power of the United States to promote peace.

We have a most serious and important job to perform. Can we of the ASU do our part? First we must understand exactly what freedom is. We talk about freedom a great deal, but sometimes in so colorless a tone that it seems to be only a word oft repeated with little meaning. But if one understands why the Spanish people fight, why the Chinese farmers who at first paid little attention to the Japanese invasion are now joining the guerilla forces, then we understand how precious is freedom. One example will make this vivid I think. In Manchuria in order to control the life of every person the Japanese military burned down the homes of the people in the country and told them they must live in "protective villages". These were villages with a wall around them, then a moat, then an armed guard. To get in or out of the village one had to have a permit and his every movement was watched and controlled. No one under this rule can move without the permission of the Japanese military. Because such a life is intolerable all who can escape now join the Manchurian Volunteers to fight until they win freedom.

We can have freedom only if we are willing to work for it. Today democracy must be strengthened and extended. The students of America as citizens must see to it that this is done. Through the Human Rights Roll Call, launched by this Convention, the American Student Union gives to the students of America an instrument by which they can declare themselves for democracy. By our proposal for a national assembly of students for liberal action students can work on a program for democratic rights, for human rights. If the members of the American Student Union, the delegates particularly to this Convention, will really work to carry through the objectives of the ASU, then we shall see the awakening of the students of America to the task which lies before them. We are more fitted to do this than at any time in our history. We have more schools represented here at this Convention than ever before. The various sections of the country are present. Some delegates have one religion; some an-

other. Some have definite political views; some have not. We have the largest number of high school delegates and Negro delegates ever to come to an ASU Convention. Through the active participation of the latter in the discussions many have come to realize in a more personal way that the fight to solve Negro problems is part of the same fight for freedom the world over. We know that one of our first jobs as students who want to safeguard democracy is to end discrimination which faces thousands of students because of race, color, or creed.

One of the reasons why student leadership is important today is that we represent the middle class. In the United States this class is very large and in working to extend democracy the help of this section of the population must be won. We are in a position to do this. One of the problems which we face in this country is the hostility of the middle class to labor, and yet the aims of labor are the safeguarding and extension of democracy to guarantee human rights. Our job is to win sympathy for labor and to show that their aims are the same as all liberty loving Americans.

Before we leave this Convention there is one problem which must be cleared up. Apparently from conversations going on there are those who think this Convention came out for armaments. As I see it we are still opposed to armaments; all we said was we did not think America could start to disarm today; but with force on the march in many sections of the globe, the important thing was to work for a foreign policy which would not aid force but would put a halt to it. This we think is the most important problem facing those who want peace. Thus it is that we propose to give war materials no longer to Japan, an aggressor nation. We believe it is of utmost importance to distinguish between victim and aggressor. Thus we would lift the embargo on Spain. This is the crux of our peace program.

One would ask in the present situation whether there is hope of carrying out our objectives. I would say emphatically yes! We have the example of the Harvard ASUers who worked many hours canvassing for a candidate running on a platform supporting the human rights objective of the New Deal and who won hundreds of people to his support. We have the sacrifices of many of our members who work day in and day out with little pay — the field and district secretaries in particular who have an extremely hard life yet are willing to do so because they have vision enough to understand their responsibility for the development of the world in which we all live. We have the example of our enthusiastic high school members, who have difficult conditions under which to build their chapters. We have the evening school students who work all day, study at night and still have time to build the ASU! We have the example of the Spanish students who have worked so heroically with the Spanish people in the defense of their independence. We have the example of the Chinese students who have been the leaders of the Chinese people in resisting the invasion of the Japanese military so that now we have the example of a united people who have said again and again that they will fight even if it takes fifty years to gain their freedom! We know of the fight of the German people, the courage of a man like Pastor Niemöller, against Hitler. It is this courage, this determination, and unity of students and democratic peoples the world over that gives us our strength! Yes, it can be done!